

*Editorials*

Post-Kansas City  
Democratic Politics /  
Phony analysis  
of CBS-TV /  
Attention Police:  
Political dissent  
is permitted  
in America



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# Missouri Insurance Industry Discriminates Against Women

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## Mayor Daley is Chicago Government

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Father Ralph Wright:

“Brooks is innocent”

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## Columbia (Mo.)

*the past:*

A battle of yesterday — integrating Missou

*the present:*

A city of closed doors

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## Eleven Days in the Cage

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*Poems:* Howard Schwartz, W.D. Valgardson, Andrew Dillon, Ralph J. Mills, Jr.

# OUT OF FOCUS

*(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)*

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"Happiness of Womanhood, organized to oppose women's liberation, has changed its name to the "League of Housewives." Its leader explained that some of the men who called the previous group thought it was a massage parlor.

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Democracy in Chicago: "We suggested some time ago that the Republicans and Democrats both endorse Richard J. Daley for reelection. Ald. Roman C. Pucinski (41st) says he talked with several Republican ward committeemen about that idea and that they liked it. 'And why not?' he asked, adding, 'nobody's going to beat Mayor Daley anyway. A fusion ticket would create a bipartisan civic atmosphere that we haven't had in Chicago in many, many years.' "

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*From the Near North News*

"Mr. President, I always enjoy listening to my good friend, the Senator from Pennsylvania. He is able, he is articulate, and he can be, when he is at his best, obfuscating." Remarks by Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D., Mo.) in the U.S. Senate.

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Applicants for federal jobs in some agencies, according to the Senate Operations Committee, have been given psychological tests which included true-false questions such as the following: I am very seldom troubled by constipation; My sex life is satisfactory; At times I feel like swearing; I have been in trouble because of my sex behavior; I do not always tell the truth; I have no difficulty in starting or holding my bowel movements; I am very strongly attracted by members of my own sex; I like poetry; I go to church almost every week; I believe in the second coming of Christ; I believe in a life hereafter; My mother was a good woman; I believe my sins are unpardonable; I have used alcohol excessively; I loved my mother; I believe there is a God; Many of my dreams are about sex matters; At periods my mind seems to work more slowly than usual.

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On January 1, 1975, one of the most regressive taxes has gone up: social security. This tax only applies to low incomes. Previously, all incomes above \$13,200 were exempt, this has been raised to \$14,100. (The increase does provide additional income for the program without increasing the percentage paid.)

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The United Nations has proclaimed 1975 as "International Women's Year." The theme of the observance will be "Equality, Development and Peace." The UN, as most international institutions, is overwhelmingly dominated by males.

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Air pollution cost the people of the United States at least \$6.1 billion or at the most \$18.5 billion in 1970, according to a recent study by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. The study was made by scientists in the Agency's National Environmental Research Center in N. C.

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The organ of D.A.N.K., (German-American National Congress) is currently running articles by Austin App, a long-time anti-Semite, and plugs for his book, *The Six Million Swindle*, which charges that the Jews were not annihilated by the Nazis. App has also been with Liberty Lobby and the John Birch Society. (FOCUS/Midwest published in 1964 [Vol. III, Number 23] an expose of D.A.N.K. in "Fatherland Active in American Politics" referring to the Barry Goldwater candidacy, the involvement of a German diplomat - who was later transferred - and the ties of former Nazis to D.A.N.K.)

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The California Board of Education decided to downgrade Darwin's theory of evolution to "simple speculation." United Press International reports that this decision will have nationwide impact because many publishers tailor their books to California's lucrative book market.

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Amidst all the fervor to investigate the investigators, many congressmen will distinguish themselves with their new-found love of privacy, the right of political expression without official surveillance, and the Bill of Rights. Yet, it should be remembered that every governmental agency has been created by Congress, that every illegal act committed by the FBI or CIA is a direct result either of legislation passed or congressional reluctance to exercise their statutory obligation to assure the faithful execution of such legislation.

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#### **THE RIGHT WING / Supplement to the Roster of the Right Wing**

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## *Post-Kansas City Democratic politics*

Observing the Democratic Mid-term Convention in Kansas City, December 6-8, was much like observing a tobacco auction. With all due respect to the labor of the Charter Commission, chairman Terry Sanford finessed the gavel and the microphone like a veteran. Even the "controversial" affirmative action article 10 (Section 6) moved at an assembly-line pace following a one-hour caucus. Each article tightly sewn (as it were) in a burlap bag and stamped with the verbal approval — and few roll call votes — of the delegates.

Kansas City found the Democratic Party in an unusual stance of surface harmony, as a party charter, drafted over the past two years, was overwhelmingly adopted. Were it not for strong and partially successful opposition by blacks, supported by women and liberal groups, to proposed language in the affirmative action article, one would have thought that this was a typical Republican Convention.

Most Democrats appeared to be satisfied with the charter. Those who weren't included the leadership of the AFL-CIO which tacitly supported Nixon in 1972 and former Missouri Governor Warren Hearnes, a short-lived trustee of the Spiro Agnew defense fund, who didn't want any charter at all.

The new charter, adopted by a voice vote with little audible opposition, included several major changes from the draft charter that had been drawn up by the party's 167-member charter commission. The changes dealt with delegate selection processes (article 2), the party's judicial council (article 7) and affirmative action (article 10). The compromise on article 10 led to the rift with old-line organized labor and clearly showed which groups held the power in the party.

Studying post-convention comments, it appears that the traditional wing of labor, particularly the AFL-CIO leadership, are most disaffected and threaten to disassociate themselves from the inner councils of the Democratic Party. This bitter overreaction came after a compromise which left many blacks and liberals deeply dissatisfied. It does reflect, however, the passage of George Meany's days of unquestioned power. AFL-CIO's stance that only their brand of liberalism can be made to work ignores not only the vitality and enthusiasm and material resources which reformers, blacks, and women can provide but it also runs counter to the interests of its more liberal unions.

Kansas City presented an opportunity for Meany. He failed again. Will it take another six years to admit his mistake? After all, he has now publicly admitted that he was wrong in supporting the Vietnam War — if he had only known then what he knows now, he declared. A grand admission which pleads ignorance. The young voices on Michigan Avenue in 1968 resounded with the answer. By now these voices have crossed the street and parlay inside the hotels instead of shouting at closed windows from without.

Actually, the changes did not and most likely will not change the political status quo.

The affirmative action section of the charter was the key plank for the rival groups at Kansas City. It was the charter section designed to open the party to participation by minorities and women.

Blacks saw a strong plank as affirming their power. Liberals saw it as a commitment to equality for minority groups in party affairs. Strauss saw it as the way to keep the party united. But some labor leaders and

traditional liberals viewed it as a mechanism to freeze quotas into the workings of the party and to limit their influence in the party.

The debate over the final shape of article 10 took up most of the time and energy of party leaders at the conference. What finally resulted was a compromise that deleted language that would have made it more difficult for blacks, women and other minority groups to challenge party delegations that they considered unrepresentative.

The compromise on article 10 was a last-minute development. The Democratic governors and governors-elect, meeting in Hilton Head, S.C., in mid-November, adopted language barring mandatory quotas in delegate selection and party affairs. Most party leaders thought then that that compromise would settle the dispute over affirmative action that had disrupted the final meeting of the charter commission in Kansas City in August.

But caucuses of blacks, women and Latinos at the December conference opposed the section of the article that placed the burden of proof of discrimination on those who challenged a delegation instead of on the party unit that put the delegation together. Blacks pushed for a change in the language, but most party leaders, including Strauss, held firm. The blacks threatened to walk out over the issue, and Strauss reportedly told them they could walk out and that he would give them bicycles if they wanted to ride out.

The liberal unions and the governors finally backed down. This move assured the change in article 10.

The outcome of the conference confirmed the new power in the party of groups that once had been excluded and of the aggressive, liberal labor unions such as the United Auto Workers (UAW), American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and Communications Workers of America (CWA) which had been gained at the expense of old-line organized labor and traditional party regulars.

The Democrats came away from their party conference with a new charter, a subtle realignment of power, and an angry George Meany. Most party leaders and activists expressed delight about the new compromise charter and the sense of party unity achieved at the conference.

The charter alone, of course, will not maintain party unity. Party fairness is an excellent foundation for such unity. It means sharing the burden of inclusive politics with minority group representation at all levels of party affairs. Party fairness is more than an outreach program with newspaper ads and a lighted sign in front of the mass meeting hall. It means for Party officials, committee men and women to open up the inner councils of local parties.

The charter will be of no more value than the Programs for Economic Action which were also ratified. One needs Party and the other Congressional support for implementation. Minority group leaders must be able to point to actions, as well as the Charter, to convince their supporters that the Democrats want and need their participation. In this regard, the initiative of the Missouri and Illinois state chairmen in the 1976 call for delegate selection should be examined carefully.

## *Phony analysis of CBS-TV*

It is difficult to defend television news. But the networks right-wing critics make such defense easy.

The latest to add up smiles, subtract grimaces,



multiply by inflections and come up with the sum of biased coverage is Ernest W. Lefever, author of "TV & National Defense: An Analysis of CBS News, 1972-1973."

Lefever's analysis was made for and published by the Institute for American Strategy in Boston, Va. The institute is a study center dedicated to promoting U.S. militarism in response to what it sees as "the Communist and other revolutionary challenges to American freedom." The institute is closely allied with and shares a president — John M. Fisher — with the American Security Council, the powerful anti-Communist, pro-military alliance of right-wing industrialists and retired military leaders.

Not surprisingly, Lefever concludes that CBS News — which he acknowledges as the network leader — is biased against the United States military establishment and is not informing its audience of the military threat posed by the Soviet Union.

It is not surprising either, in light of past right-wing critiques of the television networks, that Lefever comes to this conclusion through an analytic method that is so simplistic and distortive that its findings can be correct or incorrect only by coincidence. He continuously labels opinions of newsmakers reported by CBS as the opinions of the network. And even when he contradicts his own basis for analysis by acknowledging that such opinions belong not to CBS but to persons reported on by CBS, he insists that full reporting on any subject requires an absurd balancing of diverse opinions. The balancing he seeks is one under which when 100 persons are killed in an airline crash the media must report the opinion of someone who says the victims are dead and then present the other side by finding someone who says they are not.

To this well-worn right-wing method of adding up pros and cons reported to prove media bias toward whatever side scores the most points, Lefever adds the technique of measuring network content against newspaper coverage to prove network reluctance to report on topics missed. It has been estimated that it would take 40 hours to read an average metropolitan newspaper over radio or television and Lefever uses the New York Times for his comparison with CBS. It is difficult to judge what this method suggests or whether he is deliberately distortive.

In any case, Lefever's analysis adds nothing to needed public discussion of television shortcomings in informing the American public on important issues. This is not to say that there are no correct observations in his book. In fact, his major conclusion that "an attentive viewer who watched the 196 hours broadcast by CBS Evening News during 1972-1973 would have gained almost no knowledge of growing Soviet military might in missiles, aircraft and warships" is probably essentially correct.

But there are many other subjects of national and international importance on which television news viewers gain no knowledge and bias is not the chief villain. The time limitation, built into the television media, is undoubtedly the major problem. Skimpy expenditures on news gathering and appeal for audience undoubtedly play bigger roles than bias.

And relative to the military threat posed by the Soviet Union and Lefever's analysis, he blatantly argues not for fuller, more objective coverage but for bias toward the military-industrial complex for which he speaks. This is particularly true in the case of his criticism of CBS coverage of the Vietnam War in

1972. He blasts CBS News for giving the viewer a picture of U.S. intervention in Vietnam as "cruel, senseless, unjust and immoral." If there is to be criticism it would more properly focus on the network's failure to make that picture clearer far earlier in the game.

The "study" was challenged by CBS President Arthur Taylor who has charged the Institute of American Strategy with having decided ahead of time that its critical study of CBS News would find "partial and slanted reporting," reports the Associated Press. Taylor said that the Institute ignored 80 percent of CBS News broadcasts. The IAS responded that only the CBS evening news were available from the Vanderbilt University Archives and that there was a lack of money for other research.

Despite the silliness of Lefever's analytic methods and the dangerous bias from which he argues, there are certainly many specific criticisms in the study which hit home at network shortcomings. For that reason, his book — which is after all more about anti-Communism than about television — is able to reach beyond its natural audience of right-wing militarists and to appeal to a far larger segment of a public distrustful of the news media.

This dubious book has gained an undeserving mass audience through its syndication by the North American Newspaper Alliance. Not surprisingly, users included the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, whose publisher, G. Duncan Bauman, is active in the American Security Council.

Obviously, however, the newspaper is aware that the Institute for American Strategy is hardly a reputable critic of military news. In its front-page article introducing the series, the Globe described Lefever as a senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution. The article's lead suggested to the reader that the study of CBS news was made for the respectable Brookings Institution and not until the third paragraph was the study attributed to the Institute for American Strategy. The hesitancy about the sponsor did not prevent the Globe from doing the study up big — a five-part serialization and concluding editorial endorsement.

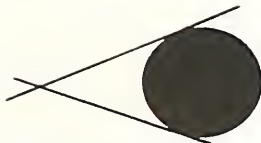
## Attention Police: Political dissent is permitted in America

Watergate is a symptom. Getting rid of the symptom doesn't cure what ails the body politic, but it is more preferable than pretending that our institutional faces are free of blemishes. While several investigations are progressing on the national level and are now engulfing the FBI and the CIA (which doesn't mean in the least that these agencies will have to account for their unlawful activities), similar illegal invasions of privacy and the rights of citizens are ignored on the local level.

The police of every major city has an intelligence division. Their function should be to fight crime. But since political activities outside of the two-party system (and some activities within the two-party system) have been classified as suspect, subversive, and criminal, these divisions have infiltrated, photographed, tapped, and kept under surveillance any person or any

*Continued on page 29*





By O. C. KARL

## MISSOURI POLITICS

The Missouri General Assembly is in special session. Specifically, upon the proclamation of Governor Bond, the first extra session of the second session of the Seventy-seventh General Assembly was called to order at 2 p.m. on November 19. At this writing, it appears that the lobbyists and legislators have agreed on some measures which are palatable to the Governor and can be sold to the public.

The Governor specified two major areas for Assembly consideration: credit practices and interest rates, and supplemental and emergency appropriations for social services. A secondary issue is Senate confirmation for 96 Bond appointees to various state agencies. Reflecting tensions between the Senate and the Governor, some of these appointees have been turned down.

By the time the special session adjourns on January 8 or earlier, some type of credit and interest legislation may well be adopted by the House and Senate. The holiday adjournment must have given all the lobbyists enough time to reconcile their differences and let the legislators know how to vote.

Far be it for us to suggest that an increase in Missouri interest rates for individuals is or is not advisable. The Missouri housing and construction industry is in doldrums — but so it is in other states with higher interest rates. Nevertheless, an increase in view of the state of the economy might be justified.

What concerns us at the moment is less the laws which will be enacted by this session and approved by the Governor, but more the total and abysmal silence by consumer groups. Interest rates and credit practices are fighting words in the jargon of so many social and organizational leaders. We heard nothing from them during weeks of debate. We did hear about a march on the

*State Capitol — by real estate representatives on behalf of an increase in interest rates.*

Actually, this shouldn't be too surprising in Missouri, a state where the chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, the watchdog over bankers, is a banker himself.

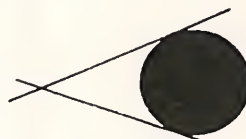
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The Missouri State Library has announced that information concerning legislation before the Missouri General Assembly, both the special and regular session bills, is again to be available for interested citizens through their local public libraries. The Legislative Hotline, as this statewide effort is known, was introduced as a public

library service in 1972. Library users should contact their local public library with their questions. If the answer is not available locally, the library will contact the State Library in Jefferson City for the required information.

\*\*\*

Warren E. Hearnese, former Missouri governor, isn't through with politics. There is hope, however, that Missouri is through with him. State Democrats are caught in a fix. He appears to be one of the few politicians who can, for example, raise funds for the party, stage a successful fund-raising event, and establish close rapport with the regular, traditional elements in the urban as well as rural areas. Yet, there have been several signs that his influence is waning. He was barely elected to the state's delegation to the midterm Democratic Convention. At the convention, he was one of the few who opposed any type of a charter. He is at odds with all reform movements be they blacks, women, or political. Somehow, Hearnese is dated. His rigid views of the day begin to overshadow other major contributions while he was in office, such as the enforcement of air pollution measures. It would be well for him and for progress in Missouri if he would rest on his laurels.



By TOM LAUE

## ILLINOIS POLITICS

As 1974 ends and with it the 78th Illinois General Assembly, a political "year-in-review" seems appropriate.

Major legislative accomplishments include the creation of a Regional Transit Authority (RTA) for six Chicago-area counties, a state lottery, a new right-turn-on-red traffic law and three new state agencies — the Department on Aging and state boards of education and elections.

The RTA faces one major stumbling block. The four Chicago board members want Chicago Transit Authority Chairman *Milton Plicksky* to head the RTA and the four suburban members don't. As a result, every RTA meeting to pick a leader has ended in a deadlock. One person mentioned as a compromise candidate is outgoing House Speaker **W. Robert Blair** of Park Forest. Ironically, Blair's 10-year legislative career ended abruptly Nov. 5 because voters in his district were disgruntled by his active role in setting up the RTA.

The fledgling lottery, which makes someone \$300,000 richer each week and periodically turns participants into millionaires, survived a federal threat to its legality. U.S. Attorney General **William Saxbe** said all lottery laws should be strictly en-

forced or the laws changed. The laws are being changed.

The state board of education's key achievement so far has been the selection of **Joseph M. Cronin** of Massachusetts to succeed **Michael J. Bakalis** as state school superintendent, effective Jan. 13. Bakalis made it clear he wanted to keep his job but he didn't have enough board support. When this became clear, Bakalis bowed out, saying the board didn't define clearly enough for him the relationship he would have with the new board. Cronin, who had a similar post in Massachusetts, said he expects to help develop educational policies but once they're set, he said, "the superintendent and board will speak with one voice." Cronin said this means he could actually end up defending educational policies he doesn't like. He said he would quit if his differences with the board become too great. Bakalis said he will detail his plans when he leaves office.

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Chicago Mayor **Richard J. Daley**, despite uncertain health and the legal trouble a number of his closest associates find themselves in, decided to seek a sixth four-year term. He will face scattered Democratic opposition in the mayoral primary. Chief among his party foes is alderman **William Singer**, the outspoken independent who managed to toss Daley and other regular organization Democrats out of the 1972 Democratic National Convention on grounds the Daley group didn't meet affirmative action guidelines in choosing delegates. Interestingly, Daley emerged from the party's Kansas City mini-convention as a symbol of Democratic party unity by dropping his demand for language barring quintas at the 1980 convention. While every presidential hopeful dropped by to welcome Daley back into the fold, Gov. **Daniel Walker** was in Illinois, boycotting the mini-convention on grounds the legislature had knicked his budget into such a straighten it out. There was speculation *Walker would work for Singer but the governor, whatever his private thoughts, will publicly only that he will watch the mayor's race with interest.*

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While Walker watches the mayoral contest, U.S. Attorney **James Thompson** continues to watch lawmakers in Springfield. His most recent indictments accuse 10 past or present solons of accepting bribes to vote for a bill favorable to the cement-truck industry or, in the case of three of them, introducing a "fetcher" damaging to the car rental industry. This is a bill offered so it can be withdrawn after special interest lobbyists pay off the legislator who put in the "fetcher."

Thompson's office said another dozen

*Continued on page 7*

## ILLINOIS POLITICS

Continued from page 6

Illinois lawmakers could have been indicted on the cement-truck bill, eventually vetoed by former Gov. **Richard B. Ogilvie**, but weren't because prosecutors weren't convinced criminal intent was involved in their votes. Among those who narrowly escaped indictment, Thompson said, was Senate President **William C. Harris**, a Pontiac Republican. Thompson said Harris may turn into a key government witness. Shortly before Thompson announced these indictments, U.S. Attorney **Donald Mackay** of Springfield charged two other lawmakers with misusing their state expense account money. The alleged scheme involved paying secretaries for work they never did and then having the secretaries kick the money back to them. One of those accused, Decatur Republican **Webber Borchers**, readily admitted the mechanics of the scheme but said he used all the state money and some of his own to finance a personal probe of campus unrest. "When your house is burning down, you don't care where you get the water to put it out," Borchers said.

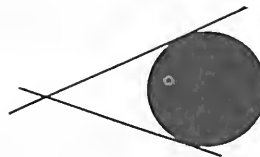
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When the dust settled Nov. 5, Democrats found themselves in control of both the Illinois House and Senate for the first time in decades. When the 79th General Assembly convenes Jan. 8, the Senate margin will be 34-25 and the edge in the House will be 101-76. During the past two years, Republicans controlled both chambers by slim one-vote margins. Gov. Walker interpreted the returns as a voter mandate to Democrats to solve problems Republicans haven't. How well the maverick governor can work with regular Democratic majorities will be tested for the first time.

Three of the four legislative leaders were picked early in December but the fourth spot, the powerful speaker's post, won't be filled until Jan. 7 when House Democrats caucus. Long-time minority leader **Clyde Choate** of Anna is the early front-runner, based mainly on his 18 years in leadership roles and his proven ability to deal with Walker when necessary. But Walker is reportedly opposed to Choate, although he again publicly denies any interest in the outcome. A trio of anti-Choate Democrats have announced their candidacies and hope they can persuade enough members to abandon Choate and force selection of a compromise candidate. The three, **William Redmond** from populous Du Page County, **John Matijevich** from North Chicago and **Gerald Bradley** from Bloomington, say Choate lacks real leadership qualities.

The House minority leader is **James Washburn** of Morris, a 10-year veteran who became prominent two years ago when he took charge of the influential House Appropriations Committee. Senate President Harris will routinely hand the gavel to Sen.

**Cecil Partee**, a Chicago Democrat beholden to Mayor Daley who now leads the minority party and was Senate President in 1971-72 when Democrats last held sway in the upper chamber. Harris will be spokesman for the new GOP minority.



## COMING INTO FOCUS

The 24-member **Democratic Steering and Policy Committee**, in the U.S. House which was granted committee assignment power for all House Democrats by the party caucus, includes three good choices from the Illinois-Missouri area: **Ralph H. Metcalfe**, (Ill.), **Melvin Price** (Ill.), and **Richard Bolling** (Mo.). Bolling's expertise of the committee structure and his efforts for reform in the House over many years, make him a welcome choice.

The Congressional Quarterly reports that the end may finally be in sight for the House Internal Security Committee, the successor to the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The Democratic Steering and Policy Committee assigned only one member to the panel, **Richard H. Ichord** (D.Mo.), the chairman for the 94th Congress. The four other Democratic members left the committee for other assignments.

Explaining the assignment of only Ichord to the committee, **Gary G. Hymel**, an assistant to Majority Leader **Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.** (D.Mass.), said, "Nobody else applied and the other four members wanted off."

Several House aides predicted that the committee, long a target of liberal representatives, may be soon abolished by the House Democratic caucus.

The fact of no applications and the desire of the other members to move was "so obvious that it couldn't have been the result of oversight," said one Democratic aide. It "seems likely," he added, that the caucus will abolish the committee.

The Democratic Steering and Policy Committee has not assigned a new majority-minority ratio to the Internal Security Committee.

\* \* \*

Submissions to a new little magazine **The Chariton Review** are invited by Andrew Grossbardt, editor. He is with the Language and Literature Division, Northeast Missouri State University, Kirksville, Missouri 63501. He asks for quality poetry and short fiction (5,000 words or less).

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All photographs by Jerry Phalen

*Father Ralph Wright:*

# “Brooks is innocent”

MARY M. PHELAN

Father Ralph Wright is a tall, ascetic-looking monk from Ollerton, England. He teaches English, Greek and Latin to high school boys, writes poetry, and dabbles in photography. He is soft spoken and self-effacing — not the kind of man who ordinarily would seek public notice. Yet he has been in St. Louis news frequently in recent months, due to his involvement in the Johnnie Lee Brooks case.

Johnnie Brooks is the man who was tried and convicted in May of 1972 for the robbing and blinding of Wilma Chestnut. His conviction was overturned by the Missouri Court of Appeals in December of 1973 on the grounds that the State suppressed important evidence. That decision was challenged by the State, but the Missouri Supreme Court upheld the decision. The new trial was begun in November of this year, but was declared a mistrial on technicalities. At this writing, a new trial date has not yet been set.

Since the final day of the 1972 trial in which Brooks received a 55-year prison sentence, Father Wright has been one of the key persons who has kept alive the possibility that the wrong man was sentenced.

On the surface, Father Wright's activities on Brooks' behalf might be interpreted to be those of a well-intentioned but over-zealous priest. But when meeting and talking to him, it becomes obvious that Father Wright's actions are not motivated by misguided sympathy.

Father Wright greeted us out at the St. Louis Priory, where he has taught since he came here shortly after his ordination in 1970. His tall lanky frame was draped in the dark attire of his order, the Order of St. Benedict. In a quiet English accent, Father Wright explained how and why he became interested in the Johnnie Brooks case.

“It never occurred to me four years ago when I was still at the Abbey in Yorkshire, that I would be involved in something like this now in St. Louis. It all started

simply enough. I knew from the news coverage that the hideousness of the crime had gained national attention. I even heard from friends in England who'd read about it in *The Times*. It struck me that this Brooks must surely be in need of a friend.”

Through a newspaper friend, Father Wright managed to contact the right authorities about meeting Brooks in prison.

“I went to see him, convinced like most people, I suppose, that he was guilty. After all, the news coverage was sensational. Some of the papers actually assumed that he was the man long before the trial. But Johnnie said from the beginning that he did not do it, wasn't there when it happened, and didn't know who did it.”

But Father Wright emphasized that it was many months before he was really convinced that Brooks was not guilty. Only careful digging and piecing together of facts has brought him to that conclusion.



“To be frank, I did not believe Brooks in the beginning. But I told him I would try to help him prove his innocence until something might happen that proved his guilt, and then I could no longer support his claim of innocence. Well, that has never happened.”

Father Wright laughed when we asked if he had found himself playing a detective's role in the Brooks case, but he was definite in his answer.

“Oh no! I should stress that I never envisioned myself as a self-styled detective, trying to ‘solve a case’ as it were. I was only acting on Johnnie's behalf — a sort of liaison between him and the outside. I only have tried to find the right people to whom to give the information that has accumulated through Johnnie's friends and relatives, and others who have helped.”

Father Wright showed us folders of data he has collected since the date of the crime. He has newspaper clippings from both the black and white communities, many of which, in







light of recent events, do read like trial-by-press pieces. He also has some 140 letters from Brooks to a girl friend that date from his arrest in September 1971 to March 1972 before the first trial. In another folder are all of the public legal materials from the first trial and the Court of Appeals decision.

He then showed us a 30-page paper that he had compiled called "A Conviction of Innocence," which includes a selection of the events which make Father Wright believe that Brooks is not the man who blinded Wilma Chestnut. He referred to it from time to time as he described the things that have brought him to that conviction.

"I suppose I really began to question Brooks' guilt when the investigator for his defense, who had felt sure that Brooks was guilty, became convinced within a week of his investigations that Brooks could not have been on Kingsbury with Wilma at the time of the crime.

"Shortly after that, Wilma described Johnnie as having long, flared sideburns, which he cannot grow, and a scar which he does not have. By the way, Wilma has always insisted on that description, despite her attorney saying at one point that she was probably 'confused.'

"Then there were the letters that Johnnie's girl friend allowed me to have at my request. He had written nearly every day to her from the city jail, and they were really a diary of sorts."

Father Wright brought out the thick folder of letters and leafed through them.



"You know, the letters themselves are very revealing about the goodness in the character of Johnnie Lee Brooks. I realize of course, that one cannot talk of legal guilt or innocence on the basis of such insights, and I have had to be extremely careful to 'disinfect' my opinion from the emotions which one feels upon reading them.

"But what was very important was that as I read through them, it became more and more evident to me

that Johnnie really did not know anything about the crime, not its circumstances. And furthermore, for him to have fabricated all the details of his ignorance of the crime that filter through the letters would be, I think almost impossible. And he has never changed any of his stories about those things.

"Following the letters there was conflicting evidence in the depositions and later, in the trial itself, that made Johnnie's innocence seem almost certain to me... although not to many others, I realize," the priest smiled wryly.

"Finally, added to all of this has been the possibility that Wilma's description may actually fit another man who was known to be involved with the events of that day. That man left town shortly after the crime, and has just recently been found. On the other hand, Brooks called the police when he heard they wanted to talk to him about something, though he didn't know what."

The Oxford educated priest realizes that public opinion may be opposed to freeing Johnnie Lee Brooks because of the strong feeling aroused by the inhumanity of the crime itself, and the urgent desire of people to believe



that justice has been done and that the perpetrator of such an act is safely behind bars.

"But I do think the important thing for people to realize is that there is reason to believe that the man who actually did do the deed may still be walking the streets. And if that is the case, the real assailant will have achieved exactly what he intended: the inability of Wilma to identify the attacker without her sight."

Father Wright has not been alone in his claim that Brooks is innocent. In the last year he has had help and encouragement from others who have worked close to the case. These have included friends and relatives of Brooks as well as friends of Wilma, newspeople, policemen, and a committee of citizens which has set up the *Johnnie Lee Brooks Defense Fund* (Box 9982, Kirkwood, 63122).

"An attorney, Norman London, has agreed to take the case for retrial. Now we are trying to raise some money. So that's why I've been talking to the press, hoping people will respond," said the priest.

When we were ready to leave, we asked him the inevitable last question: How would he feel about the enormous effort and time he has put forth if Brooks is proved to be guilty in the end? Father Wright smiled. "Many people have asked me that... won't I feel it has been a waste, or something. On the contrary, I have learned much and I have made many new friends, one of the most valued being Johnnie himself. Anyway, at the moment, the question is hypothetical, as I firmly believe that Johnnie did not blind Wilma Chestnut."

*Mary Phelan is a free lance writer, Jerry Phelan does free lance photography. They live in the St. Louis area.*

# Insurance industry discriminates against women

LINDA COLDIRON

Most insurance companies in Missouri have systematically discriminated against women for years. The inequities in the scope and benefits of disability policies would never be allowed if they were applied to a minority.

There is no state or federal law that prohibits discrimination against women by private industry. Even the Equal Rights Amendment would be of no help. As a constitutional amendment, it cannot be applied to the insurance industry without "state action" being shown. State action means that the state has some present or potential participation in the practice being questioned. A recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling said that licensing and regulating an industry does not constitute state action.

What is needed is a federal statute that speaks directly to the point — discrimination against women by the insurance industry. Congresswoman Martha W. Griffiths, Democrat from Michigan, introduced a bill to stop such practices, but it has no teeth. While equalizing the scope of disability coverage, the bill does nothing to prevent the insurance companies from using vastly different rates to shortchange women.

A woman we know visited the office of a major insurance firm to inquire about a disability insurance policy. The owner of a small business, she wanted full coverage to protect her livelihood in case of an extended illness or disability due to an accident. The insurance man was very nice when he turned her down for full coverage. "It's nothing personal — it's just because you're a woman."

Sex discrimination is evident throughout the insurance industry, but is most blatant in the area of disability benefits and coverage. Disability benefits are usually in the form of a "salary" or income replacement which would support a person unable to work because of accident or illness. An attorney, doctor or office worker is considered a good risk for such insurance. Depending on their salary, a person of this risk category could take out disability insurance which could pay \$500 or \$1,000 per month while the person was disabled. These benefits could conceivably extend for the rest of your life — unless you're a woman.

New York Life Insurance Company's best policy will give a 25-year-old man in a low risk category benefits until he reaches 65 for illness and for the rest of his life

if he is permanently disabled by an accident. A 25-year-old woman can get benefits for only five years — regardless of the severity of her disability — while she pays more for her policy than a man does. New York Life is not alone in this practice; their rates and coverage are commensurate with that offered by the majority of the insurance companies operating in Missouri.

Companies explain the gross disparity in coverage and rates by quoting actuaries' statistics — figures gathered by employees of the insurance industry. They say that women use disability benefits more frequently than men, and some insurance executives feel that women tend to malingering and feign illness to collect benefits. These statistics, computed by the insurance industry and unseen by the public, are used to deny a woman full coverage. It hardly seems plausible that their statistics could justify denying a woman over 35 years of benefits. A man who becomes permanently disabled will be given benefits for 40 years or more, while a woman in the same category is on her own after five years. Her only resort is Social Security.

Edna Colton is 56 years old and blind. Since a disease took her sight over 25 years ago, she has existed on Social Security payments and charity. Under most disability policies, she could have received a substantial monthly income for over 30 years — if only she had been born a male.

A few companies offer seemingly identical policies for men and women. In reality, they are simply more skilled in disguising their brand of discrimination. Aetna Life & Casualty offers disability coverage without regard to the sex of the insured. However, there is a clause in the policy which states:

For women, monthly benefit reduces 50 percent if not working full time away from home when disability starts.

No such restriction applies to men. In addition, women who buy such coverage will pay 53% more than a man for the same insurance.

Also included in these "identical" policies is a clause stating that the company will not issue disability policies to persons whose business and home address are the same.

## MISSOURI:

"There is nothing available to help persons find out about pitfalls in insurance"

— Missouri Division of Insurance

## PENNSYLVANIA:

*"Pennsylvania has ordered the most massive disapproval of insurance forms and policies in the insurance department's history because the state said they discriminate against women," reports Dick Pothier of the Globe-Democrat-Knight News Service. "There were discriminatory limits on life and health insurance, a lot of questions regarding pregnancy coverage and treatment and even policy forms that singled out women to answer questions about their sex organs," declared William J. Sheppard, insurance commissioner, according to Pothier. The state's action was based on the recently enacted Insurance Unfair Practices Act, other insurance laws, and the equal rights amendment to Pennsylvania's constitution.*

However, consideration will be given to certain *male* risks, such as salesmen, truck drivers, plumbers, etc. whose duties require them to leave their homes daily. (emphasis theirs)

New York Life will not issue a policy to "a woman employed by her husband, or engaged in a joint business venture with him." No such restriction applies to a man because of his business association with his wife.

Another way to disguise discriminatory practices is the use of dual policies. An agent for a major insurance company explained it this way. "A prospective insured can request a specimen policy to review at home before making a decision on the insurance. My firm sends one type of policy to a man, and another type to a woman. These specimen policies are coded as to the sex of the prospective insured. Consequently, a woman examining her policy cannot discover that certain restrictions in it are not included in policies offered to men."

In many instances companies will insure men in certain risk categories, while they will not insure women in the same category. New York Life offers disability insurance to men who are considered a grade "B" risk — occupations which do present some minimal danger to the insured. Consequently, a bartender can get disability insurance which pays a monthly benefit for sickness and accident — unless that bartender is a woman.

Everett Feaker, an agent for the Business Men's Assurance Company, was approached by a woman inquiring about disability insurance. He was surprised to find that his company did not grant benefits to women for more than five years. Since the woman inquiring about a policy was an attorney, Feaker then suggested the company's Executive Policy, but found that it didn't cover women at all! "That kinda seems unfair, doesn't it," he said.

The insurance companies are not entirely to blame for this situation. Believing everything they have always been told, women rarely insure their lives or livelihoods. Some professional women are now looking into buying insurance, but as Ms Marynell Moore, of the New York Life Insurance Company put it, "Most women think so little of themselves, that all they'll buy is a \$2,000 policy to bury themselves."

Pressure from women's groups has had an effect on

some insurance companies. They've changed their advertising literature — but not their policies. New York Life boasts of advertising directly specifically toward women. An example is their "dowry policy." This life insurance policy is issued to single young women who, the pamphlet reads, can transfer this coverage to their bridegroom. Apparently, the marriage-crazed young lady is supposed to frantically wave the policy under the nose of a suitor as enticement to marry her. He not only gets a wife, he gets an insurance policy. New York Life tells how the dowry tradition began in the days of the cave man. Apparently they haven't noticed that things have changed since then.

A telephone call to the Missouri Division of Insurance office requesting consumer information about insurance is a waste of time. After three phone calls to unresponsive and uninterested clerks, a statement of futility came from Larry Grimes, assistant manager of the local office. "There is nothing available to help persons find out about pitfalls in insurance. Even the so-called experts in the field are working in a vacuum of ignorance. They know how to sell a policy and figure commission, but that's about all." The insurance supervisor's office in Jefferson City promised to author consumer protection booklets on insurance, but as yet nothing has been done. Some people feel that the ignorance surrounding insurance is tolerated if not promoted by the insurance companies.

Like the dowry policy from stone age days, the theory that women work only because they want to is unreal. Over half of all married women in this nation work, as do most of the single women. They don't work because they're bored at home, they work because they have to. Yet insurance companies still maintain that women are fragile, undependable domestics who wouldn't hold a steady job if they had the chance.

Until this attitude is changed, the insurance industry will continue to disenfranchise half the population of Missouri and other states.

*Linda Coldiron, formerly a resident of Kansas City, Missouri, is now a resident of New York.*



***Chicago has no true City Council which  
deliberates or legislates, Voting study  
shows that the city is under the absolute  
dominance of the Mayor.***

# **Mayor Daley is Chicago Government**

*Elections to the 50-member City Council will be held on February 25. When FOCUS/Midwest went to press, 176 candidates had filed for the aldermanic seats. A candidate will need 50 percent or more of the vote to win in the "nonpartisan" City Council election. If no candidate wins the majority of the votes, a run-off will be held on April 1, the day of the mayoral election. FOCUS/Midwest recommends to its Chicago readers to check the voting chart on page 18. If you favor Mayor Daley's approach to government, the chart will tell you who his supporters are at a glance. If you prefer a more democratic approach, the chart will tell you whom to defeat.*

Government in Chicago has become dysfunctional. We are using leftover government structures and processes from the 19th century to cope with problems of greater scope and complexity than our grandparents imagined. We have been bequeathed a jumble of governments on the one hand and a tradition of relying upon machine politics to overcome this formal dispersion of power on the other.

Our governments include special districts for mosquito abatement, education, parks and recreation; general county, city, and suburban township governments; new regional agencies like the Regional Transit Authority; and a host of state and national agencies such as Model Cities Councils which provide a multitude of direct services to various constituencies.

The tax maze created by these competing governments is not only confusing, but underfinances critical services while relying upon the most regressive and cumbersome taxes to pay for those services which are provided.

The electoral districts from which these various governments are elected are illogical and overlapping. This multiplicity renders our local government more confusing and less accountable than necessary. We have no means of influencing these local governments other than through elections — elections made less meaningful in Chicago by the Democratic Party machine's control of the city and the Republican Party machine's control of the suburbs. Since many of the governments are appointed, electoral control over this multitude of governments is made even more difficult.

Even if we focus our gaze narrowly upon Cook County alone, we discover that we elect a 15-person County Board, a County Board president, sheriff, assessor, clerk, treasurer, coroner, state's attorney, recorder of deeds, superintendent of education service region, and chief clerk of circuit court in the county government alone. In addition, there are 125 towns and municipalities, including the City of Chicago, each with its own separate government. These added to the hundreds of special districts bring the total number of governments in Cook County with the power to tax up to 520.

Within the City of Chicago these special districts and governmental units include the Chicago Transit Authority, Regional Transit Authority, Chicago School Board, Junior College District, Chicago Park District, Metropolitan Sanitary District, Mosquito Abatement District, Chicago Housing Authority, Chicago Urban Renewal Board, and the Chicago City Council. Most suburban towns have created a similar plethora of local governments. Certainly no one can complain that we have too few governments; rather, our problem may be precisely that we have too many governments with overlapping and specialized responsibilities to govern ourselves effectively.

If we consider carefully Chicago city government, we learn that our problem is greater than merely a confusion of governments. Chicago government under the 20-year rule of Mayor Daley has become ever more monolithic. The Democratic Party has successfully centralized power which the maze of governmental bodies would seem formally to decentralize. This monolithic power obtained by Daley's dual role as both Mayor and chairman of the Democratic Party's Cook County Central Committee is manifested in a subservient City Council, in a patronage-dominated executive branch in control of separate local governments either by mayoral appointments or by party

nominations of elected officials, and in denial to citizens of both information and influence over government policies.

To reform Chicago government we must narrow our focus further. The legislative, executive, and judicial branches, not to mention the monolithic political system may be equally in need of reform. However, democracy most depends upon our ability to decide government policies by debate among both representatives of the people and the people themselves. This cannot exist without an effective legislature which, in Chicago, means an effective City Council.

### The City Council

It is not enough simply to charge, as many observers have, that the Chicago City Council is subservient to the Mayor, that the executive branch is riddled with patronage, that separate units of government are, in fact, controlled through the party mechanism, and that citizens are denied access to government. An accurate and compelling agenda for change requires a more complete analysis and that we fully understand the costs of the status quo.

Chicago town government began August 12, 1833, when five trustees were elected by a town meeting to govern. In March, 1837, Chicago officially became a city under its own charter by special act of the state legislature. Since early in this century Chicago government has derived its legal authority and restrictions from the "Cities and Villages Act" (Chapter 24 of the Illinois Statutes). Then, in 1971, Chicago became a Home Rule Unit with enlarged powers "to regulate for the protection of public health, safety, morals, and welfare; to license; to tax; and to incur debt."

Throughout this period since it became a city, Chicago has been ruled by political bosses and political machines whether they be the Hinky Dink Kenna's and Bath House John's of the turn of the century, the Republican "Big Bill" Thompson machine, or the current Daley Democratic machine. Governmental powers have grown, wars and depressions have occurred, but other than the "experts" employed by the Daley administration to undertake modern projects, the government by political machines has remained basically unchanged over the last century in Chicago.

Legally, we have a Strong-Council/Weak-Mayor form of government. All city ordinances must be passed, nearly all major executive appointments must be approved, and the budget for the entire government must be voted by the City Council. However, like the federal and state governments, the executive branch in Chicago has enlarged its powers at the expense of the legislative branch. Creating an executive budget as suggested by the 1954 Home Rule Commission and Mayor Daley's assertion of powers by virtue of his position as chairman of the Cook County Central Committee, has caused Chicago to become Mayor rather than Council dominated. Although at the national level Congress moved toward impeachment and brought the resignation of President Nixon in its clash with the executive branch, in Chicago the City Council has only atrophied from disuse.

To put the matter more boldly, the Chicago City Council has become a rubber stamp for legislation introduced by the Mayor.

In earlier times when the council possessed more power there were so many corrupt aldermen that it was known as the era of boodle and the period of the "grey wolves" fighting over spoils rather than looking after the public interest. This historical inadequacy of prior City Councils made it easier for Mayor Daley to centralize power in his own hands. More than by his formal powers

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*This article was condensed from a paper on "Chicago Government" prepared for a symposium on "Chicago: An Agenda for Change" held Sept. 13-14 at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.*

as Mayor, however, Daley maintains his absolute control over the council because of its partisan composition. By 1974 only a single Republican (Alderman Hoellen, 47th Council). The futility of his efforts is emphasized by his announced race for Mayor on the Republican ticket in 1975.

With the Watergate scandals occurring at the national level, with a party platform which generally fails to respond to the needs of city dwellers and seems inhospitable to disadvantaged minority groups, and with an ever weakening precinct structure within Chicago, the Republican Party appears unlikely to elect more than a handful of aldermen in 1975 to redress the balance.

And by 1974, the rest of the minority within the City Council consisted of five liberal Independents (Aldermen Despres, 5th Ward; Cousins, 8th Ward; Langford, 16th Ward; Singer, 43rd Ward; and Simpson, 44th Ward), one independently-minded Democrat (Alderman Simon, 40th Ward), and one conservative Independent (Alderman Lawler, 15th Ward). While this Independent and independent-Democrat sector of the City Council is the most likely to expand, it is unlikely, at least in the 1975 elections, that it will equal the number of administration Democrats.

Thus, in the current City Council and in the one likely to be elected in the immediate future, the overwhelming majority will continue to be under the control of the Democratic Party. While the number of machine Democrats has varied somewhat since 1971, there have always been at least 37 administration supporters. On a few occasions as many as 18 aldermen have voted against the Daley administration in the last four years, but needless to say, the administration position has always prevailed.

### Decisions By Clout

The highly partisan and controlled nature of the City Council prevents it from being a deliberative body concerned with the merits of proposals; rather, it decides issues on the basis of clout and on instruction from the city administration floor leader, Alderman Thomas Keane (31st Ward). Thus, only institutions or individuals with enough power to influence party officials prevail. This tradition of clout has encouraged corruption on the part of individual aldermen in those areas such as zoning in their wards where they may have some influence over the outcome. In the past few years seven aldermen and former aldermen have been convicted of accepting bribes or embezzlement. Two more aldermen are on trial. Thus one consequence of decision by clout is corruption.

Furthermore, because City Council decisions are often determined by influence, confrontation politics frequently results. Community groups, for instance, cannot force decisions on their merit. They cannot simply give reasons for desiring a policy to be adopted and expect success. Only when community groups mobilize vast armies of citizen supporters betokening their ability to command votes at election time, do they pass the legislation or obtain the administrative decisions they need. Examples of citizen victories include the sulfur dioxide anti-pollution ordinance of 1970, the ban on shoddy apartment buildings of 1971, and the municipal depositories ordinance to control redlining by financial institutions in 1974. The practical lesson of these and the few other major ordinances which have passed without being originated by the city administration, is that a strong citizen movement putting pressure directly upon the administration can force legislation through the council — but not on its merit.

The origin and the fate of legislation is central to understanding the City Council. During 1971, after the

## ADDENDA ON CORRUPTION

Since this article was prepared, two more Chicago aldermen were indicted and sentenced. Among them is Mayor Daley's chief representative on the City Council, Alderman Thomas E. Keane, who is the subject of much of this article. Keane was sentenced to prison for mail fraud and conspiracy.

new City Council was inaugurated on April 21, a total of 278 pieces of major legislation was introduced. (For full years such as 1972 and 1973 the number of pieces of major legislation numbered from 300-350.) Ninety-nine of the major pieces of legislation in the last nine months of 1971 were introduced in the name of the Mayor and another 16 were introduced by administration departments in council committees directly in order to speed their passage. By the end of the year 95 per cent of the Mayor's legislation and 100 per cent of the committee legislation had been passed by the City Council. The pattern remains unchanged in 1972 and 1973. Thus, the city administration introduced about 40 per cent of all major legislation from 1971-1973. Only one piece of administration legislation was actually defeated in three years and only two dozen pieces were deferred. It is very difficult for legislation introduced by the city administration to be defeated even if it has major flaws and, as we will see later when we investigate the actual voting patterns, this problem is made worse by the inability of the minority or anti-administration aldermen to get even basic amendments improving administration legislation accepted.

Equally revealing, while the minority or anti-administration aldermen introduced almost as much major legislation as the administration (35 per cent of the total or 96 bills in 1971, 90 in 1972, and 109 in 1973), as little as 8 per cent of their legislation was passed by the City Council and only half of these pieces were passed without being reintroduced by administration aldermen. And in three years only 22 pieces of this legislation was directly defeated, but more than 200 pieces lie dormant in committee — most of which have never been given a hearing. It does not seem credible that virtually all of the Mayor's legislation is perfect, requires no amendment, and is passed immediately while virtually all minority legislation is so flawed as to not be worthy of even a hearing.

Perhaps most surprising is the record of the majority aldermen. For all three years they introduced on the average only one or two pieces of major legislation per alderman per year. As a "Coffee Rebellion" brewed among the majority aldermen from black and liberal constituencies, some of these aldermen began to produce legislation like that of minority aldermen, save in a milder form. As this occurred, the percentage of their legislation passed by the City Council dropped from 43 per cent to 24 per cent. During this period majority aldermen became more willing to co-sponsor legislation with the minority, and consequently, this legislation increased from 7 to 27 pieces a year. As roll call analysis for 1973 and 1974 would show, the younger majority aldermen also became more willing to cast an occasional vote with the minority on issues like race, civil rights, or policies which directly affected their constituencies. Yet, the iron grip of Mayor Daley exercised through the Democratic Party remained sufficient to defeat minority legislation and to continue to pass administration proposals.



The general rule remained that in order to be passed, legislation had to be introduced by the city administration. Little else whether sponsored by minority, majority aldermen, or both would be tolerated. There seems to be a pervasive fear that to admit the merit of any other proposal would require the council to consider all proposals on their merit and, thus, destroy party discipline altogether.

Finally, some major legislation from 1971-1973 was introduced by citizens through the City Clerk. Practically, only those proposals from the Landmarks Commission which designated sites as landmarks passed. Some zoning proposals introduced by the owners of specific sites also passed but these are not classified as major legislation by the Legislative Reference Bureau. Thus, we can conclude that no major piece of legislation introduced by individual citizens has passed City Council since 1971. Despite the fact that a procedure exists for individual citizens to introduce legislation directly to the council it does not fare as well as those proposals by either minority or majority aldermen and, certainly, much worse than official administration legislation.

Concluding this study of the source and fate of legislation introduced into the council, it is evident that to an amazing degree the council only passes administration legislation. Other proposals by minority aldermen, by the administration's own aldermen, and by citizens are ignored.

### The Ideal Council

In opposing this narrow functioning of the Chicago City Council, we must, of course, compare it to how an ideal council might perform. *Nation's Cities*, the magazine of the National League of Cities summed up the usual view of an ideal city council this way:

The council as a governing body, must perform these basic functions:

It is clearly the legislative body. It must establish its agenda of community needs by performing its own evaluation of the quality of life in the community. It must conduct its own evaluation of the impact of policies and programs on that quality of life.

The council should undertake problem definition, policy development, policy formalization, and oversight and evaluation.

This is only a formal way of saying a city council must be a genuine legislature. While a city council should not attempt day-to-day administrative decisions, it should develop laws and policies for a community. It should evaluate the quality of life and propose ways of preserving what is good and improving what is bad.

Yet the Chicago City Council does not possess the separate base of power nor the freedom to develop policies independently of the executive or to make its own evaluation of government performance. Except for certain legal requirements, the City Council could be abolished in Chicago with no loss to city government except the opportunity to air different points of view and arouse to some degree citizen opinion. It does not establish an "agenda of community needs." It does not set a general course for city government by a free discussion of alternative policies.

These important choices occur instead with the top echelons of the city administration and the Democratic Party, behind closed doors where only a few points of view are represented. This control over all branches of government has allowed the Daley administration to act forcefully to execute physical programs such as the development of the expressway system but more basic social programs are either neglected or carried out with insuffi-

cient reflection as to their ultimate effects.

The non-legislative aspects of the council are reflected in the nonfunctioning of most of its 18 standing committees. State statutes grant the Chicago City Council broad powers to "make all rules and regulations proper or necessary to carry into effect the power granted to municipalities." To consider the 300-350 major pieces of legislation and uncounted hundreds of pieces of routine, ministerial legislation which praises the dead, locates traffic signs and taxi stands, rezones property, applies for federal funds, and issues permits for carnivals and sidewalk sales requires a committee system.

### Non-Functioning Committees

Alderman William Singer (43rd Ward) in preparing for the 1972 city budget hearings did the most thorough study yet undertaken of City Council committees, including the number of times they met, the legislation they considered, and the staff they employed in 1971. He concluded that in 1971 only seven of the 18 standing committees — 1) Building and Zoning, 2) Environmental Control, 3) Finance, 4) Local Industries, Streets and Alleys, 5) Planning and Housing, 6) Police, Fire, Civil Service, Schools and Municipal Institutions, and 7) Traffic and Public Safety — functioned in even a minimally acceptable way. The other 11 standing committees he found to be virtually non-functional.

Four of the eleven non-functioning committees did not hold a single committee hearing in 1971; three others met only once, usually to tour facilities they nominally supervise such as the Port of Chicago. The 11 non-functioning committees combined met only a total of 22 times in 1971 and produced only 64 recommendations to the City Council. Nearly all of the recommendations of these committees involved minor ministerial tasks. Twenty-six of the 64 recommendations, for instance, were recommendations regarding bus routes, bus and taxi stands. Nearly all 64 proposals which passed or failed in committee were drafted by city departments themselves and virtually none were on the list of major pieces of legislation supplied by the Legislative Reference Bureau. Most major legislation which was referred to these committees was buried without a hearing. Thus, Alderman Singer concluded that these committees passed only ministerial legislation, that they made no real legislative contribution, and that they added nothing to the legislation originally offered by the departments.

Yet each of the 11 non-functioning committees of 1971 employed from 2 to 20 patronage workers on their staffs. Over half a million dollars of city revenue is spent each year to staff committees which neither propose nor hold hearings on essential legislation. These committees were not only a waste of time, but they were a waste of money. The minority aldermen suggested in the 1972 budget hearings that these staff be eliminated and the half million dollars a year be used for better purposes. Then this author recommended an entire committee reorganization. Neither proposal has yet been adopted.

The lopsided nature of the Chicago City Council is reflected not only in its partisan composition and in non-functioning committees, but also in its rules of procedure.

### Arbitrary Actions

These rules do not allow for orderly policy making, extensive airing of issues, adequate expression of all positive points of view or a fair evaluation of the impact of city policies upon the quality of life in Chicago. Instead they permit precisely those arbitrary and unreasonable acts which most undermine the respect which should be due our local government and its laws.

# Mayor Daley is Chicago Government

First of all, City Council meetings are so arbitrarily scheduled and so little publicized as to make public observation, much less participation, very difficult. Learning where and when committee meetings will be held at which citizens theoretically could testify on proposed legislation is even more difficult.

As to full council meetings, dates for succeeding meetings are set by an ordinance proposed by Alderman Keane at the end of the current meeting. During the last three and a half years all amendments to change the time and place of council meetings have been defeated. Although meetings are usually held on Wednesday, they are frequently on Fridays and, at least occasionally, on other days of the week. The date for a future meeting may be set from three days to six weeks or more in the future. The Municipal Code calls for council meetings to be held the second and fourth Wednesday of each month, but unfortunately, it has the escape clause, "Unless otherwise determined at a regular meeting of the City Council by an ordinance. . . ."

Thus, council meetings are set in such an arbitrary fashion that even well informed citizens will not know the date of the next meeting. Council meetings are also begun at 10 a.m. rather than in the evening or on weekends when attendance by the working public would be easier. Regular City Council meeting times would allow the public to attend and allow aldermen to better arrange their own schedules and staff work on legislation.

Another change would be required, however, for the public to take full advantage of regular council meetings. The practice of packing the galleries with school children and city employees during debates of controversial issues would have to be stopped. The packing of the galleries at the 1968 Democratic National Convention with city employees may have shocked the rest of the country but for Chicago it was only standard operating procedure.

Even more secret and more difficult to discover than City Council meetings are committee meetings. The council Rules of Procedure require only that public notice be posted on an obscure bulletin board on the second floor of City Hall near aldermanic offices. As a courtesy, notices are mailed to aldermen and to individuals or organizations permanently registered with council committees. But no regular calendar of council and committee meetings is published and even such notice of meetings as is given frequently fails to include an agenda of which legislation will be considered.

Thus, an individual or citizen organization concerned with particular legislation or specific issues is unlikely to know about committee meetings. Even aldermen are sometimes misinformed as to when particular legislation will come before committees.

Even if the City Council should change its procedures so that its meetings and its committee meetings could be better attended by the public, meaningful debate requires at a minimum that copies of the legislation under discussion be readily available and that legislation be titled and numbered so that it can be easily distinguished from the hundreds of other pieces of legislation considered by the council.

In addition to the problem of public attendance at meetings and a public record of legislation and council debates, neither the public nor aldermen can obtain a hearing on important issues. Legislation may not be discussed in City Council when it is introduced except by a suspension of the rules of procedure which requires a two-thirds vote, which administration aldermen will not provide unless signaled to do so by Alderman Keane.

Only the most elaborate parliamentary stratagems or civil disobedience (purposely breaking the rules by refus-

ing to be seated, refusing to vote, etc.) can draw public attention to issues which the administration would otherwise suppress.

Immediate discussion of legislation would be less serious if a public hearing before council committees were more likely. However, as we saw in the last section, many committees do not meet, committee chairmen are not required to put pending legislation on the agenda if they do meet, and there is no method for a minority to force a committee hearing.

## Sacred Burial Ground

When aldermen or the administration itself are especially nervous or offended by legislation, not only the usual procedural tricks are used but the sacred burial ground, the Committee on Committees and Rules is employed. According to Rule 42:

Rule 42. When two or more committees are called, the subject matter shall be referred, without debate, to the Committee on Committees and Rules, which shall recommend to which committee of the council the subject matter shall go. In each instance, the Committee on Committees and Rules shall report its recommendation to the council at the next regular meeting succeeding the meeting at which any matter involving a conflict of jurisdiction of committees shall have been referred to it.

The committee is theoretically required to meet before the next council meeting and assign legislation to the proper substantive committee. But, generally, legislation simply languishes in the Rules Committee, never even to be assigned to its proper committee. This practice has so frequently been ridiculed in the press that it was little resorted to in the early years of the current council. Only 17 pieces of legislation were sent to Rules Committee in 1971 and only 14 pieces in 1972. By 1973 good behavior on the part of the administration broke down at the same time vastly more City Council reform legislation was being introduced. The net result was that 44 pieces of major legislation were sent to the Rules Committee that year. As of this writing this committee burial ground continues to hold over thirty reform proposals and a similar number of substantive legislation.

Having discussed the problem of public attendance at council meetings, the lack of a public record of legislation and debates, and the difficulty in obtaining hearings on controversial legislation, it is also important to consider council debate and voting in this survey of procedural deficiencies.

A common malady in this area is the form in which questions are put before the council for decision. In making appointments the Mayor frequently submits an entire list as a package. In proposing public works projects several are frequently proposed together. Obviously, the procedural solution is to allow the question to be divided into its parts and to vote on appointments or public works projects separately. But council rules allow a question to be divided only upon vote of the majority so, in practice, the question cannot be divided unless the city

administration wants to vote separately. Three separate rule changes have been proposed by both majority and minority aldermen to allow either one or two aldermen to order a division of the question, but these proposals like so many others have been buried in the Rules Committee.

As to voting, the council allows proposals on which there is no objection to be placed in an omnibus package and voted unanimously in a single roll call at the end of the meeting. The 1954 Home Rule Commission opposed this procedure because it feared that controversial measures might inadvertently be passed. Yet the problem is not as great as it might appear since any alderman can force a separate roll call on a measure.

The omnibus roll call and the refusal to divide a question does not silence an alderman. As I have already indicated the greatest limitation is an alderman's inability to get a timely issue to the floor for discussion at all. In addition, there is a 10-minute limit upon speeches and there is, of course, no procedure for a filibuster as there is in the U.S. Senate. But these are not real impediments to discussion.

### Turning Off Mikes

There are occasionally grave offenses against free speech, however. Often in previous city councils and several times since 1971, aldermen's microphones were literally turned off when they spoke against the city administration. The press outcry keeps this abuse to a minimum but it is a sad comment on city government that it occurs at all.

A much more subtle and more effective parliamentary ploy is for the Mayor or the President pro tem acting as chairman to recognize an administration alderman to table a proposal or to "move the previous question" before the minority aldermen can speak on their own proposals. Controlling both the chair and the majority of votes necessary to prevent rulings of the chair from being overturned, the administration can use a variety of ploys to prevent the administration from being embarrassed. Generally, however, the minority aldermen use parliamentary tactics creatively to raise issues the administration would rather ignore.

From a true legislature, however, more can be expected. One expects members to be persuaded by debate. But the accompanying table on controversial roll call votes for 1971 shows clearly that majority aldermen were almost never persuaded by argument. In 58 key votes (which included every major piece of legislation on which there was a divided vote regarding its passage, many key procedural votes, and a number of important amendments) there were only three votes in which any majority alderman voted with the minority. One was a resolution by Alderman Cousins opposing firebombing homes in racially changing neighborhoods, the second was opposition by a conservative majority alderman to banning "For Sale" signs in residential neighborhoods as a way of stopping blockbusting, and the third was to provide equal pay and the same title for both janitors and janitresses employed by the city government. On all other issues the majority remained absolutely monolithic. This changed slightly in 1972 and 1973 when there were somewhat more frequent defections among the majority but the city administration continued to control enough votes to dominate City Council.

On the other hand, the minority aldermen exhibited a variety of voting patterns. In 15 of the 59 key votes they were unanimous in their opinions and vote. In another 18 they were united save for the defection of either Father Lawlor or Alderman Simon.

There were an equal number of key votes in which

only two or three minority aldermen voted one way and their colleagues voted the other. The strongest voting bloc were the five liberal independents who voted together most frequently. But all members of the minority apparently felt free to vote their personal beliefs or those of their constituency. They sometimes differed after hearing the same arguments and evidence. Therefore, their votes could not be predicted absolutely ahead of time in the way the majority aldermen could be predicted.

However, the ability of the minority alone to be swayed by persuasion does not make a true legislature of the City Council. Until all aldermen are free to vote according to their conscience, democratic decision making will not really be possible. Until all aldermen have the opportunity to speak freely, to raise important issues, and to get a fair hearing, the City Council will remain a captive of the Democratic Party and the city administration.

### Goals To Be Maximized

Three goals are central to improving the lot of all citizens of Chicago: One, democracy, two, justice, and, three, quality of life. These can be summed up as a humane and civilized city in which to live the "good life." While we will never achieve perfect democracy, complete justice, or an equally high quality of life for every citizen, these are areas in which we must strive to do better.

Democracy has been defined differently at different points in history. Our forefathers in America defined it negatively by saying that it wasn't tyranny, that it was a division or sharing of the powers of the state.

Unfortunately, Chicago is a tyranny rather than a democracy even in this minimal sense of democracy as our forefathers understood it. Although elections occur, the Democratic party since the depression has controlled them so effectively in Chicago as to place all political and governmental power in the hands of a few party bosses.

During the last 20 years, Mayor Daley has further consolidated power. Thus, democracy, which at a minimum requires competing centers of power, can be maximized in Chicago only by strengthening the legislative branch of government as a counter to the executive branch and by creating a better balance of power between different political factions and parties within the City Council.

Democracy can also have positive definitions, however. In addition to breaking down tyranny we can speak of representative democracy in the sense of the 17th and 18th century political philosophers of enlightenment. Democracy in this sense exists when men of superior qualities are elected by the citizens to govern and rule on their behalf. If a majority of citizens become dissatisfied with their government they need at the next election only choose different representatives. This form of representative democracy depends greatly upon discussion, deliberation, and compromise in the decision-making process.

First, there must be discussion between the electorate and candidates who seek to be their representatives. Citizens must know enough about these men and women and the policies which they support to make a wise choice at elections. Second, there must be discussion and debate among the elected representative in determining government policies. This democratic philosophy holds that the best decisions are made through debate so that the strengths and weaknesses of each alternative will be exposed. The locus of such debate must, of course, be the legislature whether it be called a parliament, congress, national assembly, or city council.

Chicago is not a representative democracy in this sense either. Since the city administration controls the overwhelming majority of votes in the City Council, policies



### ROLL-CALL VOTES IN WHICH THERE WAS DISSENTION (APRIL, 1971 - DEC. 1971 )

**VOTED YES WITH ALDERMAN KEANE**  
**VOTED NO WITH ALDERMAN KEANE**  
-a YES vote cast  
-a NO vote cast  
-failed to vote on particular roll-call  
-absent from council session

- ★—Motion to suspend the rules
- Motion to lay the legislation on the table
- ◆—Motion to discharge legislation from committee
- ▲—Budget Amendment

are actually decided when the administration determines whether to introduce particular legislation.

A third and more fundamental definition of democracy is simply direct "rule by the people." This "pure democracy" or "participatory democracy" as it is now often called is achieved when citizens assembly together and decide government policies themselves by either majority vote or by consensus. This form of government was tried in Athens 2500 years ago and operates in New England town meetings even today. Many people grant the theoretical desirability of maximizing direct citizen participation in government but claim that as a practical matter participatory democracy cannot be achieved in a city as

### All The Legislation That's Fit to Print

In arguing in his paper on "Chicago Government" that all legislation introduced in the City Council should be appropriately titled and numbered and made readily available for the information of the public, Alderman Dick Simpson gives an example of the problems of the present system.

Under current practice the official Journal of Proceedings of the City Council prints the texts only of those bills that are passed by the council or reported out of committee. Other legislation introduced is summarized and Simpson maintains the summaries are "frequently misleading and always inadequate."

He cites the summary of a resolution he introduced on March 14, 1974:

#### *I. Introduced:*

*Referred - PROPOSED RESOLUTION FOR ACCOUNTABILITY BY CITY OFFICIAL.*

*Also a proposed resolution asking for accountability by city official.*

*Two committees having been called (The Committee on Local Industries, Streets and Alleys and the Committee on Finance), said resolution was referred to the Committee on Committees and Rules."*

Journal readers wondering what that was all about might have been interested in the full text of Simpson's resolution:

*WHEREAS all public officials are fully accountable for the performance of their official duties;*

*NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Mayor be asked to account to the City Council at its next regular public meeting as to whether he has unlawfully or unwisely used his influence as Mayor of Chicago and President of the City Council to award City of Chicago insurance policies to his son, without competitive bidding;*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Mayor be asked to account to the City Council at its next regular public meeting whether he has unlawfully or unwisely used his influence as Mayor and as President of the City Council to cause his son to receive undue preference in the allotment of receiverships;*

*AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that if the Mayor of the City of Chicago shall fail to account for his actions as Mayor and as President of the City Council at the next regular meeting of the City Council or if the Mayor shall establish that he did use his influence as a public official unlawfully or unwisely to benefit members of his family, the City Council shall carefully consider the appropriate action to be taken including the possibility of censure under Rule 50 of the Rules of Order of the City Council.*

large as Chicago or in a country as large as the United States. However, greater participation than is now the custom is desirable and can be achieved.

No responsible observer would claim that Chicago today is a participatory democracy. Citizens cannot even join the two political parties without becoming patronage workers or office seekers. Citizens are denied access to governmental information, often do not know when various units of government meet, and when they do testify, say before city council committees, government officials pay little attention to their desires and suggestions. Moreover, elected officials do not have a close consultative relationship with the constituents who elected them. In general, they are remote and inaccessible. The only means of accountability or serious citizen input remains the electoral process but party control of elections in Chicago undermines this potential avenue for citizen participation.

As to the goal of justice, we must conclude that there are also several different ways in which justice must be maximized. Racial and sexual discrimination must end. Nepotism, patronage, and favoritism must be eliminated.

Until all citizens, including blacks, Latins, and other minority group members, have an equal chance to live a good life, an equal opportunity for education, jobs, social status, and wealth, equal treatment under the laws, and fair treatment by the society no one can be free and fully human. Until women have achieved equal pay for equal work, an opportunity to fully develop their potential, and a full voice in running both the government and private enterprise, America will not develop the talented people it needs to chart a positive future.

Old ethnic politics and patriarchal rule place a limit upon what can be achieved. When high government posts are restricted to men of a single political party, a few ethnic groups, a small circle of close friends, and a few powerful families, most citizens are effectively excluded from government. Thus, to achieve justice, opportunities must open up for all to become first class citizens. Democracy can only function as the government of a just society and justice can only be achieved under a democratic government. ment of a just society and justice can only be achieved under a democratic government.

### Limited Justice

Unfortunately, Chicago has thus far achieved only limited justice. Slaves have been freed, but Chicago remains the most racially segregated city in America. Minority group members are housed in ghettos, denied equal incomes, and limited in the governmental positions they may hold.

For instance, a black has never served as Mayor of Chicago, Governor of the state, or U.S. Senator. Worse, there are only two or three elected Latin public officials in the entire state none are Chicago aldermen, none serve in the state legislature. There are only two women aldermen and only a limited number of women in the state legislature.

In truth, however, not the minority but the majority of citizens are excluded from government. Patronage means only regular Democrats will be hired by Chicago government, ethnic politics means that the Irish hold top posts in government, nepotism allows the Cullertons, Keanes, and Daleys to perpetuate themselves in power. One need not be black or a woman to feel discrimination in Chicago. Government here is a party, ethnic, and family affair with most citizens on the outside looking in.

### Works Only For Some

Chicago has often been called "the city that works." Regular Democratic politicians and some journalists main-

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tain that while machine politics may have costs, at least we live in a city where government can get things done. Chicago is a city where government can get things done. Actually, Chicago is a city that works only for some citizens effectively all the time and for all citizens only some of the time.

Chicago may work for the downtown businessman who lives in the suburbs and only comes into the Loop to work. He can drive in on expressways that are adequate, work in a building with its own security force in an area patrolled frequently by police, and obtain his housing, education, health care, and basic city services elsewhere.

But for the average Chicagoan who lives in either expensive or rundown housing, who doesn't have enough money or meaningful work, whose children attend substandard public schools, who has to try to use the C.T.A. to get to diverse sections of the city, who obtains health care at Cook County Hospital, who depends upon the Chicago police for his security, whose curb has gone unrepaired for two years, who must travel miles to use overcrowded parks, and whose garbage gets picked up only once a week, the governmental services for quality living or even acceptable survival are not provided. Perhaps the city hasn't had the garbage strikes or problems of other cities, perhaps Chicagoans can still bargain some public services in return for their vote at election time, but Chicago doesn't work well enough for all citizens all the time.

## Neighborhood Government

To make fundamental changes in our local government new institutions must be created and existing government structures must be reformed. To achieve more democracy, justice, and a better quality of life, neighborhood government must be created. Remote government must go. Government must be accessible enough that citizens can easily participate if they choose. Chicago must return to a population size and problem scale which makes life in towns and suburbs inherently more attractive despite the excitement and great resources to be tapped from urban living. As a central part of self-identity, citizens need a neighborhood identity and a neighborhood government though which they can give a voice in some of those decisions which most directly effect their lives.

### *1. A new cluster of institutions must be created which taken together can comprise a neighborhood government.*

Neighborhood government is proposed as a solution to major Chicago problems because democracy cannot be achieved by City Council reforms or reforms in the Mayor's Office alone although such reforms are also needed. Justice cannot be achieved by remote governments alone telling communities what must be done; communities must, within the constraints of law, take positive steps to end discrimination and promote the well being of their own citizens. Services cannot simply flow from downtown. City officials must be in the neighborhoods, come to understand the problems firsthand, and devise solutions which take account of local needs and concerns. In short, government must be extended from City Hall to the neighborhoods.

Neighborhood government must combine representative democracy, participatory democracy, and good government principles in creative new ways. Neighborhood governments must be created without destroying either existing city government nor the potential regional metropolitan government. They must reflect both the diversity of the neighborhood and the intensity of feeling on particular issues.

### *2. The principal unit of neighborhood government must be a ward assembly with actual governmental authority, acting under the chairmanship of the Alderman, and composed of elected representatives from precincts and community organizations as well as the general public.*

The keystone to a successful neighborhood government must be a deliberative assembly with the power to establish neighborhood priorities and to effect directly city governmental policies. Such an assembly was created experimentally in the 44th Ward of Chicago in January, 1971. It has functioned successfully for the last two and a half years and its structures and activities have continued to evolve from experience.

In the 44th Ward, assembly decisions are binding because I believed that an actual transfer or sharing of power is essential to convince residents to serve as delegates, attend assembly meetings, and work on assembly projects. There were some who believed that with its powers the assembly would make worse decisions than I would if left to my own judgment. Yet the 44th Ward Assembly has over the last 2½ years mandated the introduction of legislation which I had not conceived and mandated my vote on legislation in ways I had not planned. These assembly decisions emerged from a dialogue between me and the members, all sides were aired, and the resulting decisions seem to me to be wise. There has been no capricious use of power, no harm done to minorities as some had feared. Instead citizens have joined together with their alderman to deliberate and decide together on the best actions for our community and our city.

Membership in the 44th Ward Assembly and proposed for the assemblies as part of new neighborhood governments is of three types. First, two precinct delegates and two alternates are elected at meetings or coffees in each precinct in the ward to serve a one-year term.

Second, every organization in the community with at least 25 members may elect or appoint one delegate to represent the group in the assembly. Thus, delegates are chosen so as to represent both geographical sections and interest groups which have been organized around religious, economic, social, and other interests in the community. This guarantees the assembly a cross-section of views and ideas.

In addition to the precinct and organization delegates, every resident of the Ward is automatically a nonvoting member of the assembly with the right to speak out at assembly meetings. Hence, the townhall meeting aspects of the assembly. If citizens are concerned about an issue they can either notify their precinct delegate, their community organization representative, the alderman, or attend themselves.

These voting and nonvoting members of the assembly meet once a month with the alderman. They would become, in essence, the legislative arm of the new neighborhood governments. They are the only unit which would be representative enough and legitimate enough to establish priorities and policies for the entire ward and to instruct their alderman on citywide issues.



3. *A community zoning board should be established in every ward where it is requested by a petition signed by at least 2 per cent of the voters to plan for community development, to hold hearings and initially decide zoning variances, and to hold hearings and initially decide changes in the zoning map itself.*

The second most important instrument of neighborhood government is the community zoning board. Zoning governs what buildings can and cannot be built in a neighborhood. Whether a high rise or a single family home is constructed is governed by zoning. Whether a grocery store, a parking lot, or a nightclub is brought into a neighborhood is determined by zoning. Whether a factory, school, or park goes up on a vacant lot is at least partially determined by zoning. In short, zoning is a way of planning the physical future of a community. If a community doesn't control zoning, it does not control its future.

Zoning decisions are currently made downtown by the Chicago City Council and a five-man Zoning Board of Appeals, sometimes, upon recommendation from a 17-person Chicago Plan Commission on which aldermen department heads and citizen appointees serve. The people who make zoning decisions for most part do not live in the communities and, therefore, do not have to live with the consequences of their decisions. Particularly in Chicago, zoning has been surrounded by both secrecy and corruption. So downtown decisions do not even have the merit of being fair and impartial.

The purpose of a community zoning board is to allow local residents and businessmen to control to a much greater extent that they do presently those zoning decisions which so greatly determine the character of the community in which they live and work. Decisions to permit the construction of another high rise; to allow a developer to provide fewer parking spaces for his tenants than the law allows; or to allow homeowners to build right to their property line rather than providing side yards or back yards — these are the type of decisions which local residents are better equipped to make and which they have a right to make.

Specifically, community zoning boards should be given the power to hold local hearings and decide zoning variances, special uses, and zoning map changes. They should also act as the hearing agency for local hearings on planned unit developments, lakefront plan proposals, and for a comprehensive community plan.

As to membership and process, community zoning boards would be created only in those wards where at least two per cent of the voters sign a petition in favor of such a board. The board would be composed of seven residents and businessmen in the ward from a list of ten nominees proposed by the alderman after consultation with community groups. The appointments would actually be made by the Mayor with the concurrence of the City Council.

The most frequent fear voiced by people of good will who favor more citizen involvement in zoning and land use decisions is that community zoning boards would be too parochial in their decisions. This is mitigated substantially because under the ordinance to create community zoning boards introduced in the City Council on June 12, 1974 the Zoning Board of Appeals or the City Council could reverse community zoning board decisions by special votes of three-fourths and four-fifths majorities. This insures that the needs of the city as a whole can be considered. But, the community zoning board would give the unique opportunity to plan the development of a neighborhood to the people of that neighborhood.

Current planning downtown occurs primarily through the gradual development of the zoning map and large city

projects. The result is that zoning for many areas of the city is now out of date. Community zoning boards would provide a new forum and the incentive to consider and plan carefully for a community's future. This cannot be done by the City Council, the Plan Commission, or the Zoning Board of Appeals as they presently operate — Chicago is too large and its neighborhoods are too diverse.

4. *An aldermanic ombudsman should be appointed in each ward to handle citizen requests from city government services and to investigate citizen complaints about services. He or she should be appointed by and work with the alderman of the ward. However, they should have official responsibilities and powers spelled out in the Municipal Code.*

As with most modern governments today, there are major problems with Chicago's bureaucracy which limits an average citizen's ability to receive all the government services which should be his or hers as a matter of right. Normal bureaucratic problems are aggravated greatly by the patronage system which introduces further political bias and inefficiency. Currently, the ombudsman function of policing the bureaucracy and insuring services is divided between the aldermen, the Democratic and Republican Party ward committeemen, the Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information, the Registrar of Citizens Complaints, and the news media. In addition, organizations like the Better Government Association and various internal city agencies investigate allegations of corruption, absenteeism, payoffs, and official misconduct.

None of these agencies, either individually or collectively, fully perform the ombudsman job.

The task of the recommended aldermanic ombudsmen would be to record officially each citizen request or complaint, investigate them sufficiently to determine the validity of the requests or complaints, and officially report their findings to the City Council and to the constituents. The ombudsmen, on the one hand, would notify appropriate city agencies of either requests or complaints so that they could be acted upon. On the other hand, the ombudsmen would pressure agencies to perform their proper tasks efficiently, record patterns of failure in government services, and suggest to aldermen the legislative, budget, or personnel changes necessary to improve city government.

5. *The ward superintendent who currently directs garbage collection and street cleaning should become the supervisor of a variety of city employees providing local city services such as building inspections, tree planting, and street and sanitation services.*

Currently each department of city government has its own service districts and employee assignment system. The Police Department and Board of Education have districts much larger than wards. The Building Department divides the city into three large areas or districts (North, West and South). The Forestry Department divides the city into grids much smaller than wards but assigns services and manpower from downtown. The result is a hodgepodge of services which both individual citizens and community organizations have a difficult time affecting. These different agencies with their own programs are not coordinated so as to have their maximum beneficial impact upon a community. And there is little accountability by city government for services.

Despite differences in personalities, ward superintendents generally provide the best overall city services because community organizations and citizens can influence the way these street and sanitation services are delivered and coordinated with various community needs and programs. At least, they know who is responsible. They

know the single public official who possesses the power to grant their requests directly. The ward superintendent has both authority and some flexibility about how these services will be handled.

It is this accountability, flexibility, and direct responsibility which has caused the push for "little city halls" in other parts of the country. The idea of approaching city officials at a local neighborhood office who have the authority to adjust the way city services are provided is much to be preferred over a remote city government in a city hall downtown - removed from the community and uninterested in local problems. Certain basic city services which benefit from a larger scale such as transportation, water, sewers, etc. must continue to be provided by a central city government. But the routine city services most frequently requested should be decentralized to the local community. It would be best if they were under the supervision and authority of a single official; hence, the proposal to strengthen the ward superintendent.

With the enlargement of the role of the ward superintendent and the transfer of additional city employees to the ward office, we would have the personnel necessary to make neighborhood government meaningful. It is fine to have a ward assembly to establish priorities and policies. It is fine to have a community zoning board to plan the physical future of the community. It is fine to have an aldermanic ombudsman to cut through red tape and make sure that the downtown bureaucracy functions reasonably well and fairly. However, the ability of the ward superintendent to deliver city services directly in the community completes the components necessary for effective neighborhood government.

### City Council Reform

Now to those reforms necessary to make the council more democratic, its decisions more just, and the city more livable. The task of City Council reform will be neither easy nor quickly completed. How long it might take we can learn from the history of bridge tenders on the city payroll.

For decades hundreds of patronage employee bridge tenders have sat in bridge towers prepared to raise draw bridges over the river 24 hours a day, 12 months a year (including the winter months when the lake is frozen and there is no boat traffic). Without repeating the many city council debates on the merits of our bridge tender system it is sufficient to say that Alderman Paul Douglas first suggested in 1939 how the same job could be done with several hundred fewer bridgetenders but his reforms weren't finally put into practice until 1972. Hopefully, internal council reforms can be adopted much more quickly, but they will never be adopted until they are carefully formulated, articulated forcefully, and gain broad acceptance among the civic and community leaders of Chicago.

In line with the earlier analysis, the following recommendations would strengthen the council, break the partisan control over it, and allow the council to function as a true legislature:

1. *The Illinois General Assembly should amend Chapter 46, Section 7 in the Election Code of the Illinois Revised Statutes so as to make it unlawful for elected city officials to hold positions as ward committeemen or to be members of the party-affiliated Cook County Central Committees.*
2. *The Illinois General Assembly should amend Chapter 46 (Election Code) and Chapter 24 (Cities and Villages Act) of the Illinois Revised Statutes so as to cause the Mayor to be elected in a non-partisan election.*
3. *The 18 City Council Committees should be consolidated into 8 more comprehensive and active committees.*

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4. *The minority or anti-administration aldermen on each of the eight new City council committees should be allowed to appoint at least one minority committee staff member whose duty would be to provide them with information on all legislation pending before the committees.*
5. *Each alderman should be provided with a legislative assistant in addition to the aldermanic secretary to help in researching and drafting legislation.*
6. *The practice of burying legislation by sending it to the Rules Committee should be stopped by requiring the presiding officer to decide and announce at the Council meeting when legislation is introduced and two or more committees are called to which committee the legislation shall be sent.*
7. *All City Council committees should be required to meet at least 10 times a year. Special committee meetings may also be called upon the written request of any three committee members.*
8. *Any legislation not reported to the City Council by the committee to which it was assigned within 90 days may be brought to the floor for immediate debate and a vote by any alderman under the miscellaneous business order of business.*
9. *Regular City Council meetings should be held on the second and fourth Wednesday of each month. All council and council committee meetings should be public and the dates of these meetings should be published in advance by the city clerk in a register or calendar released on the 1st and 15th days of each month. Announcement of the meetings must include an agenda of all legislation and motions to be discussed at the committee meetings.*
10. *All City Council legislation should be assigned a number and a short descriptive title of its contents. The full text of any legislation introduced should be published in the Journal of Proceedings upon the request of any two aldermen.*
11. *The city clerk should tape record City Council meetings and maintain the tapes for six months. At the request of any two aldermen any portion of the debates recorded on the tapes should be transcribed and printed in a special pamphlet appended as an appendix to the Journal of Proceedings.*
12. *A "Freedom of Information Ordinance" should be passed guaranteeing both aldermen and the public reasonable access to government documents including payroll lists of employees, vouchers of expenditures, financial reports, management studies, and copies of proposed legislation.*
13. *The omnibus roll call vote should not "apply to ordinances creating any liability against the city, providing for the expenditure or raising of money, or needing an extraordinary majority for passage."*
14. *Any alderman should be able to order the division of any question before the council into its separate propositions or appointments and require the vote to be taken separately on each.*
15. *Each year all elected city officials should be required to file with the city comptroller a sworn statement of economic interest and a copy of their most recent federal and state income tax returns. The statement should include current net worth, income, gifts received, economic associations, and creditors. Elected city officials should also file a statement of expenditures made from contingent funds and government expense appropriations.*



16.A "Fair Campaign Practices" ordinance should be passed governing municipal elections. It should require full disclosure of all campaign contributions from any one contributor, limit the expenditures for broadcast media, prohibit campaign contributions from any individual or corporation which has a proposed zoning change pending or has received a zoning change within the last year.

These reform recommendations are a distillation of the comprehensive package of rule amendments offered by the minority aldermen on April 22, 1971, this alderman's paper "A Proposal for Reform of the Chicago City Council" which was debated for two meetings of the 1972 Home Rule Commission before it was rejected, proposals by the "Coffee Rebellion" aldermen who began to introduce reform legislation in 1973, and the newest minority aldermen proposals on economic disclosure, freedom of information, and campaign practices.

Most of the ideas contained in my recommendations have been debated extensively over the last four years and some date back to the time of Alderman Charles Merriam in the early part of this century, Alderman Paul Douglas at the time of the Second World War and the now two-decades-old 1954 Home Rule Commission. Most are already in legislative form and have been introduced in the current

City Council. Certainly by now Chicago should be ready for these reforms.

Take together, the proposals to create new neighborhood governments and to reform the legislative branch of city government could far far to maximize democracy, justice, and the quality of life in Chicago. It remains to be seen if Chicagoans will be able to agree upon these changes and join in a common effort to enact them. However, it seems clear that these reforms are unlikely to be granted piecemeal or to be achieved gradually. Either citizens work for a total transformation of Chicago city government or they decide to content themselves with the closed, machine politics which has already ruled this city for more than three generations.

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*Dick Simpson is an associate professor in the political science department at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. He was elected to the Chicago City Council as an Independent Alderman from the 44th Ward in 1971 and has recently announced his candidacy for re-election in 1975. Simpson is the author of two books and the producer of two films on the political process. His latest book, *Strategies for Change*, written with George Beam, will be published by Swallow Press in February 1975.*

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# Eleven days in the cage

/ MARGARET B. PHILLIPS

"The Cage" is how my fellow inmates referred to the St. Louis County Jail when I was there for eleven days in May of this year. Eleven days is long enough to get only a hint of the full horror of being caged, locked up like animals, away from the life one would like to live. But those eleven days gave me an inkling of what it must be like to be an inmate for a long time.

Another woman and I turned ourselves in on May 6, 1974, to serve a seven-month sentence stemming from a civil rights demonstration at the St. Louis plant of the McDonnell Douglas Corporation, protesting racial discrimination by this large defense contractor. We served only eleven days of the sentence before being paroled, as it turned out, but the time we spent in jail was a nightmare.

There were many aspects of being jailed for which I was somewhat prepared: physical discomforts, the sensation of deprivation that comes when the barred gate clangs shut behind entry, the petty harassment and attempted intimidation by prison officials and employees. What I was not adequately prepared for was the total, absolute loss of power over one's own life. (Even to take a shower, we had to ask the matron to turn on the water; if she did not feel like making the effort, she told us so, and this happened fairly frequently.) I discovered on about my second or third day that when standing inside the caged area, talking to the matron standing outside the bars, I was holding on to the bars from the inside like a caged monkey. "When we're locked up like animals, we behave like animals," observed one of the women.

With very few exceptions (and there were exceptions), even the kindness shown by some jail officials was a mixed blessing — it underlined so cruelly our total helplessness. It's really hard to be grateful for well-meant kindnesses when you can't react as an equal. Kind acts by officials and most volunteers added salt to our wounds because, so it appeared to us, they viewed inmates as inferior beings to be helped, but not fully human persons with something of their own to contribute. A few sensitive individuals saw us as worthy as they, just less lucky, or perhaps more victimized. That kind of compassion was rare.

Additional tensions were created by the pooling of disasters. The despair felt by an inmate who received a years-long sentence is felt by everyone.

A number of specific abuses and inadequate conditions exist in the St. Louis County Jail. Women are confined to a cramped and dirty area, which officials say will be cleaned up after the renovation work now being done is completed. (The very inadequate medical care will most probably stay the same. The renovation was partially completed when *FOCUS/Midwest* went to press.)

The jail doctor, A. W. Wilson, an osteopath, spends part time at the jail and can send an inmate to the County Hospital. He is assisted by a full-time medic aide. Nevertheless, we observed several women received significantly less than adequate care. One woman, a diabetic, was given medication which did not correspond to what her doctor had prescribed — indeed, he was not consul-

ted. A further complication in this woman's case was a potential problem with ingrown toenails. Her doctor had warned her not to cut her toenails herself (danger from infection from small cuts can easily lead to infection and gangrene and loss of a limb for diabetics), and so she asked the jail doctor to cut them for her. His refusal — in gutter language, refusing to be bothered to help her (expletives not deleted) and showing his neglect of standard treatment of diabetes — reduced her to tears. Those of us back in the women's section, other prisoners with problems of our own, were the only human beings available to try to help her with her terror at the thought of gangrene. This woman was black, and I saw no instance when he was that brutal with any white prisoner.

Other cases show the same pattern of treatment. A woman who had given birth just before coming to jail told us she had hemorrhaged for 60 days with no treatment, despite frequent pleas on her part. She was finally taken to County Hospital and examined, and was told to come back for surgery within 48 hours. However, she was returned to the jail without the surgery and never was taken back to the hospital. She worried about that until she was released during the time we were there. A week after she was released, she died from an overdose of heroin, and I will always wonder if the blood she lost in jail was an indirect cause of her death by weakening her general resistance.

Another example involved a woman who had had surgery shortly before entering jail and was supposed to have a routine check-up after surgery. Her physician had said he was willing to come to the jail, and she requested to be seen by him, but the jail doctor told her that he had talked to her physician, who had released her from his care to the jail doctor's. This was a lie. Her physician was ready to come to the jail to examine her, but was never told by jail officials how he might do this, and in fact he had never had any conversation with the jail doctor at all.

Dental work is non-existent except for pulling teeth. One woman badly needed dental work, was willing to pay going rates to have it done, but was not allowed to have anything done until, one by one, her teeth had to be pulled.

In theory, Warden Leo Plante and other officials readily concede the inmates' right to "adequate medical care."

The facts, however, reveal case after case of medical negligence. Medical ethics are violated every time the jail physician fails to consult with a person's former physician and changes medication without doing standard tests to determine whether the new medication is helpful or harmful, as happened to the diabetic mentioned above. Moreover, patients are treated with contempt. In the words of a lawyer in the County Public Defender's office, "Unfortunately, nothing gets done up there until you have a real catastrophe."

The lack of sunshine, exercise, and properly planned diets for pregnant women, diabetics, those with ulcers or other problems, are obvious in their effects on women



inmates. Beyond that there is the frustrating, agonizing problem of faulty communications (probably impossible to avoid in institutions such as jails) or even petty tyranny (also difficult to avoid). These built-in conditions increase the bitterness of being unable to do the least little thing for oneself.

Telephone calls are extremely difficult to manage. Messages and errands often depend on the whim of the matron or guard. Some are helpful and trustworthy, others are not. Women are allowed two personal telephone calls a week, on Tuesday mornings and Friday evenings, and if we missed contact, too bad. Otherwise, if we could get a message to the social worker, and if the social worker followed up on it and took the prisoner to an office, and if the phone was free (two phones for several times that number of offices and social workers), we could occasionally make calls that way (and hope that the lawyer, or whoever, was available at that moment). The frustration of wanting to call your lawyer, your parole investigator, or whoever, and not being allowed near a phone, is agonizing. The arrogant taunting by some of the staff, or even the well-meant kindness that became condescending, is excruciating to anyone with a normally developed, healthy sense of dignity.

The insanity of the whole system can be symbolized in one incident. One of the women had been having eye trouble and, finally, she was taken to the County Hospital and given an examination. She was found to be in need of glasses, and she was given the prescription — which did her absolutely no good, because the jail couldn't pay for her glasses or let her out to go have them fitted herself. She was waiting for sentencing, but until she was actually serving time, she was not eligible for the temporary probation necessary to allow her to go and be fitted. In her case, a call from interested persons outside and a promise to provide the money did bring results; but what about the next person?

Ever since the Attica uprisings a few years ago, jail conditions have been more in the public eye than before. More and more people are coming to the conclusion that jail is a disaster from whatever angle we view it, whether we talk about rehabilitation, prevention of crime, conditions in the jail, or the economic considerations of running a vast prison system. I began to get a sense of why this is so, why the jail system is self-perpetuating, by my own reactions during my brief incarceration.

At first, the sheer horror of being totally helpless and at the mercy of someone else's whim was multiplied with each succeeding incident, to the point where the least little arrogance from prison officials, the least little frustration, became a mini-crisis. Tears of rage and frustration were alarmingly near the surface. Soon, though, I learned to cope with those feelings, at least outwardly, and I began to understand how a person's reaction could go in either of two opposite directions, sometimes at the same time: servile acceptance of authority (these, I suppose, are the "rehabilitated," the "cooperative" inmates), or a feeling of resentment that becomes institutionalized into a sense of outraged justice, a sense of deep distrust of all representatives of the established order (and maybe of all order). This in effect legitimizes breaking the law and destroys a sense of obligation to society, whether or not the person consciously formulates and spells out this attitude.

*Margaret B. Phillips is active in St. Louis civic affairs.*



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# A battle of yesterday — integrating Missou/

PATRICK CRONAN

The day after the decision Frederick Middlebush, president of the University of Missouri, refused to talk to reporters. The dean of the law school was also silent.

Law students were generally enraged. A few made plans to transfer to schools in the south. A general student strike was threatened. The year was 1938 and the United States Supreme Court had just ordered the State of Missouri to provide within its borders a law school for Lloyd L. Gaines.

Gaines was black.

Gaines, one of five children, had graduated from Vashon High School in St. Louis at the age of 20 after meeting graduation requirements in three years. He graduated first in his class and received the Alumni Award as the outstanding graduate of the year. He won a \$250 scholarship in an essay contest and determined to pursue a college education.

But after one year at Stowe Teachers College, Gaines had to drop out for lack of money. The next several months were spent trying to find the money to continue his education. This was during the worst part of the great depression.

In January of 1933, he was able to return to college, in part because of a curator's scholarship from Lincoln University. His two older brothers gave him some financial assistance and it is likely that he received some money from the small black churches before which he spoke from time to time.

As a student at Lincoln, Gaines was a member of the campus YMCA and of Alpha Phi Alpha, a black social fraternity. He was president of the summer class in 1935, and the university's student representative at the American Negro Economic Conference held at Wilberforce University.

Gaines seems to have been a very personable young

man, and extremely ambitious. One of his professors wrote of him, "An earnest young man who wants to get somewhere. He is a good leader and has initiative and tact." Another teacher considered him to be "conscientious, painstaking."

Although Gaines had a good scholastic record, upon graduation from Lincoln he was unable to find a job. So he decided to apply to law school at the University of Missouri.

He had reason to hope for success. The Supreme Court of Maryland had just ordered that state's law school desegregated. But when Missou learned that Gaines was black, he was refused admission.

Gaines appealed the decision to the university's president, "I am a student of limited means but of commendable scholastic standing. May I depend on you to see that I am admitted to Missouri University, where I am sure of getting what I want at a cost that is most reasonable? An immediate reply would be highly appreciated."

The letter was not answered.

Gaines requested the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People assist him in his efforts. A legal team was organized to represent him.

A mandamus action was brought in Boone County Circuit Court before Judge W.M. Dinwiddie to compel Gaines's admission to the law school. The hearing was held on a very hot afternoon in July, 1936. The audience of over 200 people sat through the hearing in 104-degree heat. About half of the spectators were black. Newspapers of the period do not mention if the crowd was segregated by race.

Gaines argued that it was a violation of the 14th Amendment to exclude him from the law school. He listed three reasons for wanting to attend the State University: (1) it had a good law school, (2) it was cheaper

than going out of state, and (3) the training in Missouri law would be advantageous to practicing law in Missouri.

The university countered these points: (1) an education at its law school was no better than that received elsewhere, (2) the state would pay the difference between tuition at the University of Missouri and the cost of attending school out-of-state, and (3) it wasn't necessary to be trained in Missouri law in order to practice law in Missouri.

In addition, the university claimed that Lincoln University, the state college for blacks in Jefferson City, could establish a law school for Gaines on a budget of \$10,000. When Gaines's lawyers objected that such a school would not be accredited by the American Bar Association, it was argued that 'separate-but-equal' didn't require any accreditation of the Negro school.

But the university's main contention was that the admission of Gaines would create a great amount of trouble. "Every citizen and every student is perfectly familiar with the general policies of the State of Missouri that have been recognized through the years. Every student and every citizen of this city . . . knows the traditions of this city and school running through nearly a 100 years, respecting this matter. To admit a Negro . . . would . . . be subversive of discipline . . . among the students and in the various departments."

Gaines lost. The university convinced Judge Dinwiddie that it was all right for Missouri to provide a law school for whites, but not provide a legal education for blacks.

On appeal Gaines lost again. The Missouri Supreme Court ruled that public policy required separation of the races in education. Gaines's lawyers pointed to a statute that said, 'All youths . . . shall be admitted to . . . the university of the State of Missouri without payment of tuition.' Not confused at all by this logic, the Supreme Court of Missouri held that 'all youths' did not mean 'all youths.' Public policy prevailed.

Having failed in the state judiciary, Gaines took his case all the way to the United States Supreme Court. On Dec. 12, 1938, Chief Justice Hughes delivered the 7-2 decision of the court: the state of Missouri had deprived Gaines of his constitutional rights by not providing a law school that he could attend.

Throughout the country this decision was seen as guaranteeing that Gaines would enter Missouri the next fall. Said the *New York Times*, "Once more the Supreme Court has spoken out in the defense of equality of human rights." Commented the *Iowa City Iowan*, "The surprising thing is not the nature of the decision, but the fact that such a decision actually had to be made affecting a neighboring university. We cannot see how the University of Missouri could be so narrow-minded — and so immersed in narrow-mindedness as to believe such undemocratic views universal and valid in the nation's highest court of justice. We are glad that the University of Missouri's absurd self-assurance has been so realistically punctured."

Others were not as enthusiastic. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* criticized the Supreme Court for deciding the case "on the basis of pure logic." The *Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier* suggested that the court decision could be avoided by employing an entrance examination to exclude Negroes.

But almost everyone agreed with the *St. Louis Argus* that "based on this mandate from the highest tribunal in the land we take it for granted that Gaines will, at the beginning of the next school year in September, enter the law school."

But a careful reading of the opinion revealed that was not its mandate. And the Missouri General Assembly read the opinion carefully. By establishing a law school at Lin-

coln University the state could maintain the school at Columbia as an all-white institution. As the *Missouri Student* noted, "The state will employ every trick in its hand to maintain its traditional policy of separation of whites and Negroes in schools."

Representative John D. Taylor of Chariton County introduced in the General Assembly a measure designed to do just that. The Taylor bill was to establish a law school at Lincoln for "my darkies." In spite of nearly unanimous opposition to the bill by Negroes in the state (including opposition by the black members of the Lincoln board of curators), the General Assembly quickly approved the measure.

By the time the Gaines case was set for rehearing in the state Supreme Court, it was apparent that Gaines was going to win his legal battle, but lose his war. The court went through the motions, and remanded the case to Judge Dinwiddie.

But meanwhile, Lloyd Gaines had disappeared. The NAACP lawyers were forced to ask for the dismissal of the suit, because they could not find their client.

The disappearance of Lloyd Gaines is as much a mystery today as it was in 1939. And over the years the few clues to his whereabouts have become blurred.

While the Gaines case was working its way through the courts, it is known that Gaines attended the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and received a masters degree in economics. His expenses at Michigan were paid by the NAACP.

After completing his work at Michigan, Gaines obtained a job as a WPA clerk in Lansing. Following the Supreme Court decision he quit his job, planning to move to Columbia, Missouri.

As almost everyone else, Gaines believed that he had won admission to the university. The passage of legislation creating the Lincoln University law school frustrated this plan.

By March, Gaines was in Chicago looking for a job. He was unsuccessful. In time his funds were practically exhausted. He wrote a letter to his mother which revealed his state of mind: "As for my publicity relative to the university case, I have found that my race still likes to applaud, shake hands, pat me on the back and say how great and noble is the idea: how historical and socially important the case but — and there it ends. Off and out of the confines of the publicity columns I am just a man — not one who has fought and sacrificed to make the case possible; one who is still fighting and sacrificing — almost the 'supreme sacrifice,' to see that it is a complete and lasting success for 13 million Negroes — no! — just another man. Sometimes I wish I were just a plain ordinary man whose name no one recognized . . ."

"Should I forget to write for a time don't worry about it, I can look after myself O.K. As ever, Lloyd."

To save money he moved into the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity house in Chicago. Undoubtedly, the fraternity was willing to take in a famous fraternity brother in need of shelter.

One evening, about March 19, 1939, Lloyd Gaines left the fraternity house on Chicago's South Side, going, he said, to get some stamps. Taking only the clothes he wore, he disappeared into the night.

He has never been seen or heard from since.

Rumors abound as to what happened to him. . . .

---

*Patrick Cronan is an attorney in the private practice of law in Glasgow, Missouri. He has an office overlooking the Missouri River and spends much of his time watching the barges go by.*

# Columbia, a city of closed doors

C. EDWIN VAUGHAN

Except for governmental positions of influence, the Columbia (Mo.) community is racially more exclusive than either Chicago or Milwaukee. Indeed, in half of twelve categories studied, blacks are totally excluded. Columbia, incidentally, is the home of the University of Missouri.

The relationship between severe social conflict and the denial of participation in important political and economic institutions to large minority groups has long been suspected. Actually, however, little attention has been given to black participation in positions of power in communities.

There have been only two major attempts to study black exclusion from positions of influence or power.

Harold M. Baron found that blacks held 2.6 percent of the nearly 20,000 policy-making positions in Chicago and Cook County in 1968. In 1965, nearly 20 percent of that county's population was black. Black participation in Chicago was lowest in the business sector and highest in the elected public sector, welfare and religious voluntary organizations, and in industrial unions. A 1972 study of Milwaukee County, with only a nine percent black population found that there was a virtual exclusion of blacks in the business sector just as in Chicago. Blacks held 0.05 percent in Milwaukee. The study concluded that blacks in other Northern metropolitan areas constitute an even smaller percentage of potential policy makers than they did in Chicago.

If blacks are less represented in medium-sized cities, what is the situation in small cities, such as in Columbia with a 1970 population of 58,804?

This article looks only at formal positions in Columbia and ignores those who wield power informally.

Position and not the person was studied. Particularly those institutions which, because of their control over human and material resources, wield a disproportionate share of power within the community were included. Only persons occupying higher positions within the Columbia bureaucratic hierarchy are covered in this study.

Table 1  
Comparable Positions by Sectors

	Columbia	Milwaukee
Private Sector	234	1400
Academic Sector	264	553
Public-Governmental Sector	197	790
Total	695	2743

It is assumed that persons hold power who are in policy-making positions in major institutions such as city boards and commissions, universities, hospitals, and business firms. Policy-making positions are those which are involved either with the setting of major goals and orientations or with decisions affecting major aspects of the organization or its publics.

Table 2  
Numbers and Percentages of Blacks for Sectors  
in Columbia and Milwaukee County

	Columbia		Milwaukee	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<i>Private Sector</i>				
Banks	0	0.0	0	0.0
Hospitals	0	0.0	1	0.5
Business	0	0.0	0	0.5
Total	0	0.0	1	0.1
<i>Academic Sector</i>				
Elementary & Secondary				
Boards	0	0.0	0	0.0
Central Administr.	1	5.3	4	5.3
Principals & Vice Pr.	1	3.6	9	3.4
Total	2	3.8	13	3.6
<i>Academic Sector</i>				
Higher Education				
Regents	0	0.0	0	0.0
Administration	2	1.5	5	4.3
Total	2	0.9	5	2.6
<i>Public Governmental Sector</i>				
Government	11	5.6	41	5.2

**Note:**

The Milwaukee study used four categories: private sector (business, industry, law, etc.), the public-governmental sector (city, county and federal elected, appointive, civil service, etc.), academic (school boards, principals, administrators, deans, provosts, governing boards, etc.) and the voluntary sector (labor unions, civic service organizations, etc.). Due to the relative absence of organized labor and the limited size of service organizations, it was not possible to make meaningful comparisons with the voluntary category of the Milwaukee study. Other than for considerations of size and scale, we followed the criteria used to identify policy-making positions used in the Milwaukee study. As an example of change necessitated by the relative size of the cities, officers and directors of Milwaukee-based firms with 700 or more employees were included, while in Columbia similar positions in firms having 100 or more employees were included.



Table 1 presents the number of comparable cases for the three sectors being compared in the Milwaukee and Columbia studies.

The data suggests the following comparisons between Milwaukee County and Columbia: Columbia is lower in the private (business) sector than Milwaukee County (Columbia has no blacks and Milwaukee County only one out of 1400 positions), Columbia has a higher level of participation in the governmental sector, and a lower participation rate in the educational sector. Black participation in Columbia is somewhat higher when one remembers that Milwaukee's County's population is 9 percent Black while Columbia's is 6.6 percent black. Table 2 gives a complete breakdown of positions within the sub-categories of the major sectors.

For Columbia, 1.5 percent of the positions were occupied by blacks within the educational sector. However, the elementary-secondary school system had a 3.8 percent level of participation while black participation in higher education was less than 1 percent. Black participation in higher education in Columbia is much less than in Milwaukee County.

Although somewhat higher than Milwaukee in terms of black participation in the governmental sector, in no instance did black participation in Columbia reach 6.6 percent, which is the percentage of blacks in the total population.

Columbia has some characteristics which make it somewhat different from many cities of comparable size: a declining proportion of the population which is black, higher education as its main industry, a small blue collar work force, and a rapidly growing population. All of these factors might be thought propitious for greater racial inclusiveness in influential positions, but, with the possible exception of the governmental sector, that is not the case.

C. Edwin Vaughan and Steve Olson are with the department of sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

#### EDITORIAL *Continued from page 5*

### ***Attention Police: Political dissent is permitted in America***

ficer or an influential politician, was considered a threat to the political status quo.

Publicly, Chicago's Police Superintendent James M. Rochford has announced that his department's subversive unit or "Red Squad" has been disbanded. The "Red Squad" may be disbanded but which other unit has taken over their function? Several years ago, representatives of the St. Louis police testified before Congressional committees on "subversion" in St. Louis, citing their surveillance of a number of activist housewives. Openly or surreptitiously, the police of our cities are daily enforcing political orthodoxy.

Watergate is only the tip of the political iceberg. A national housecleaning by, first, exposing the political side of local police units with the help of the recently passed Freedom of Information legislation and, secondly, judicial action to uphold the right of free association will restore respect for political democracy even among officialdom.

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## In many houses / *Andrew Dillon*

In many houses  
all at once  
I see my mother  
and father  
and they are young  
as we are young  
as they walk in.

Why should  
my tears come  
to see them laughing?

That they cannot  
see me  
is of no matter:

I was once  
their dream;  
now  
they are mine.

*W.D. Valgardson*

### Waiting For Morning

The sun extinguishes itself,  
Fishermen part the water with urgent prow,  
Trees tangle shadows like string,  
And gulls fold darkness under their wings.

Evening is readying itself.  
Everywhere, people retreat,  
Seal themselves in, gather  
Their resources for one more sojourn  
On the bottom of the sea.

Lines descend from great heights.  
Old men lie silent as fish in still water.  
Their skins fear the touch of hooks.

### Dragonfly

Here, then, is that resting place,  
Supreme moment, holy of holies,  
A Missouri town square banging with mechanical rides,  
A fat woman in green shorts sucking an ice cream,  
Quick jostling, thick sheaves of farmers, the ferris  
Wheel, spinning for heaven, brick buildings like over-exposed  
Photographs, their color bleached, glass shiny,  
Hard as steel, chipped horses, one without an ear,  
While you sit careful  
As a young girl waiting for uncles and aunts.  
Here, collecting first prize in two events,  
You rise to perfection on a gold pin,  
The intricate mechanism of your jade wings rigidly silent.

## LILITH / *Howard Schwartz*

One day  
All of your unborn children  
Will gather around you  
Lilith will bring them back  
She will leave them in your care  
She will ask for nothing more  
Than a place for them  
By your bed  
She will warn you  
If you turn to go  
You will take what you are leaving  
Your pockets will fill with ashes  
Your children will all scream  
Quietly.

*Ralph J. Mills, Jr.*

### At Night

At night a hand crosses my window  
back and forth in the moonlight  
polishing dreams

Through the glass they waver  
a wind rises to carry them off  
I cry out  
Protesting how so many are taken

Each evening I hurry  
beneath sleep's drugged leaves  
impatient for the mouth of the black stream  
words, faces frothing its surface

I drink the cold foam, sink down  
where dreams pull me with thick liquid arms  
toward my life's other story  
lit by a disc of bright copper moon

### Nothing Speaks

My shadow turns  
a hand's width,  
the last piece  
scissored from light,  
edges curled  
like a photograph  
fading inward,  
blown over places  
where the dead  
lie tumbled.

The flood freezes.  
Wind chokes in branches.  
Nothing speaks.  
Pressing heels silence  
even the stones.

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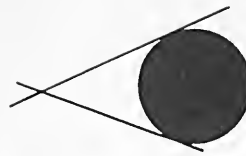
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## THE RIGHT WING

### JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

In the very early sixties, when the John Birch Society was uncovered, its leading detractors referred to Birchers as "little old ladies in tennis shoes." It seemed funny at the time, but the Society has outlasted such critics by many years. Now comes a professional study which finds no tennis shoes but finds a solid base of membership in the Society. Barbara S. Stone, of California State University at Fullerton, conducted a close study of 50 Birch Society members with JBS cooperation. Among the unexpected findings was the fact that the members were young — 58% under 40 and those in their thirties outnumbered all other age groups. The study also found that two-thirds of the men and 31% of the women were college graduates, with 12% holding graduate degrees; the men were employed in white-collar, upper-status occupations; members tended to be involved in no other right-wing movements; and many were, in some sense, liberals on a traditional scale — they fear government and are reaching out for help with their uncertainties.

### ROBERT DEPUGH

Robert DePugh, founder of the apparently defunct Minutemen, hosted a two-day "1974 Patriots Leadership Conference" at his office in Norborne, Mo., and announced that great unity had been achieved by the 135 in attendance. The purpose of the meeting of far-right leaders from all over the country was, besides unity, to "organize a movement-wide security and screening system to help identify infiltrators and agents provocateur and prevent them from passing themselves off as 'right-wingers' while continually moving from one patriotic organization to another." The group also opposed Rockefeller. DePugh reported that organizations such as the National States Rights Party, the National Association to Keep and Bear Arms and the Ku Klux Klan were represented.

### WHO'S WHO AMONG TOP CONSERVATIVE FUND- RAISING ORGANIZATIONS

Following are the eight conservative groups which supported political candidates during the 1974 election: Americans for Constitutional Action, Charles A. McManus, president (founded 1959); Young Americans for Freedom, Ronald F. Docksai, chairman (founded 1960); American Conservative Union, M. Stanton Evans, chairman, Ronald B. Dear, executive director (founded 1965); Young America's Campaign Committee, Wayne J. Thorburn,

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executive director (founded 1969); Conservative Victory Fund, Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R Ohio), chairman, Ronald B. Dear, executive director (founded 1970); Committee for Responsible Youth Politics, Morton A. Blackwell, chairman (founded 1972); Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, Robert J. Casey, chairman (founded 1974); Gulf South Political Science Foundation, James C. Plummer, executive director (founded 1974).

## THE SAFE AMERICA COMMITTEE

It appears that all the efforts of the American Security Council and its allies among industry and the military to persuade Congress to keep the House Internal Security Committee (HISC) intact have been for naught (see "Coming into Focus" page 32). It is obvious that Rep. Richard Ichord (D., Mo.), who also holds a position with the American Security Council, coordinated a nationwide campaign with ASC to keep HISC alive. The ultraconservatives are in love with Ichord's Committee which had its heyday in the 1950's when, as the House UnAmerican Activities Committee, it developed a reputation as a witch-hunting agency.

Reorganization moves in the U.S. House prepared by a special commission headed by another Missourian, Rep. Richard Bolling, would have abolished the Committee. ASC launched a massive campaign to save the Committee. The front group "The Safe America Committee" enlisted the support of retired officers, industrialists, labor leaders, and the usual entourage of right-wing spokesmen in a letter-writing and advertising campaign. They succeeded in pushing through Congress an amendment which assured the separate continuation of the Committee.

The new, more liberal Democratic caucus of the U.S. House circumvented the legislative hangup by failing to assign committee members to HISC. Ichord is the chairman again but no congressmen have sought placement on the Committee. Although the conservative coalition seems to have been thwarted, their national campaign, particularly their full-page ads, leave a number of questions unanswered. Why did the ad fail to identify SAC's address also as the Washington office of the ASC? Why was Rep. Ichord's name left off the list of 52 persons listed as "members" since he is closely identified with the ASC, edits their *Washington Report*, and appears to be on the payroll of the sponsoring organization? Why did the ad not mention that the American Research Corporation polls cited were commissioned by ASC? Why did the ad not mention that two former staff editors of *Washington Report* were on the payroll of HISC or Ichord's office?

Among members of the "Safe America Committee" which is a front for the American Security Council are the following: Miss Eleanor Schlatly, executive secretary of the rightist Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, Richard Mantia, executive secretary of the St. Louis Building and Construction Trades Council, Ollie W. Langhorst, executive secretary-treasurer of the St. Louis Carpenters District Council, Joseph E. Countin, Dist. 9 Business Representative, International Assoc. of Machinists, Richard D. Flotron, Business Representative Local 1, International Bro. of Electrical Workers, Russell E. Egan executive Local 13, Office and Professional Employees Intern. Union, Sanford N. McDonnell, president McDonnell-Douglas Corp., J.D. Street president, St. Louis Slag Prod. Co., John G. Sevcik, general manager, McCormick Place, Kurt Glaser, professor of government, SIU, Ward Fleming, professor of political science, City Colleges of Chicago, Gordon N. Murray, professor at City Colleges of Chicago, and numerous retired officers and established notables on the right-wing circuit.



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